

A CHINA MANUAL

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

When, in the middle of World War II, it was decided to open a London Office of the Chinese Ministry of Information it was quickly discovered that, in the midst of their preoccupations with total war, the British public had a keen interest in things Chinese. A glance at the office files would amaze the general public ; almost all conceivable questions remotely connected with China were asked at one time or another—and most of them were answered fully.

Many things have changed since those days. The Chinese Ministry of Information has become the Chinese Government Information Office ; its headquarters are no longer far upstream in Chungking, but now occupy a dignified place in a Nanking thoroughfare. Other things, however, have not changed ; still the inquiries come in, only the scale has changed. Where half a dozen came before they now appear in shoals and the range of inquiry is so wide as to demand encyclopaedic research to deal with it.

As a step in the direction of giving the public what it wanted, the first Director of the London Office, the brilliant and genial George K. C. Yeh, conceived the idea of issuing a series of pamphlets to deal in small compass, yet authoritatively, with some one section of Chinese life and culture. Journalists, teachers, schoolboys and schoolgirls, sailors, soldiers and airmen (to say nothing of B.B.C. programme chiefs and other specialists) told us exactly what they wanted and how quickly they wanted it. We had few resources at first, but as the days went by we acquired others.

However, the war made great demands on all supplies and very frequently we found that paper could not be spared in sufficient quantity to enable us to give the full service we aimed at. One by one the pamphlets appeared and although they were not what we would have them be, they filled the breach temporarily. It was hoped in one series to cover most of the *desiderata* indicated by our files.

Another difficulty was the paucity of authorities. During the war years everybody was busy and reluctant to take on anything beyond what filled his day. When the war finished, many Chinese took the first available opportunity to return to the land they had not seen for anything up to ten years. Thus it comes about that six of the ten pamphlets had to be written by one man ; each of the remaining four having a different author. Somewhat to our surprise (for we had only thought of the things as ephemeral) we were asked whether we would not issue the series in a more durable form. So here they are in a new dress.

Yet this is not simply a reprint. Extensive revisions have been carried out, mistakes corrected and additions made. The editor is responsible for this revision, as well as for the sections I, II, VII, VIII, IX and X. The other contributors are now scattered far apart ; the editor is still here. The appropriate address for brickbats is thus offered freely to the genial reader. At the request of numerous correspondents the forewords to the various sections have been retained.

NEVILLE WHYMANT.

LONDON, 1948.

CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE DYNASTIES

<i>Legendary</i>		<i>Renascent China</i>	
	B.C.		A.D.
Huang Ti (Yellow Emperor)	2698	Sui Dynasty	589-618
Shao Hao	2598	T'ang	618-907
Chuan Hsu	2514	Later Liang Dynasty	907-921
Ti Ku	2436	" T'ang	923-954
Ti Chih	2366	" Chin	936-944
Yao	2357	" Han	947-948
Shun	2255	" Chou	951-960
<i>Historical</i>		Sung (Northern)	960-1126
Hsia Dynasty	2205-1766	" (Southern)	1127-1278
Shang	1766-1122	<i>Tartar House</i>	
Chou	1122-258	Liao Dynasty	907-1119
Ch'in	258-207	Western Liao (Kerait)	1125-1166
Han	206 B.C. A.D. 221	Chin (Golden)	1115-1234
<i>The Three Kingdoms</i>		Yuan (Mongol)	1260-1368
	A.D.	<i>Chinese Restoration</i>	
Wei	222-265	Ming Dynasty	1368-1644
Shu Han	221-263	<i>Manchu House</i>	
Wu	222-280	Ch'ing (or Manchu)	
Tsin	265-313	Dynasty	1644 1911
<i>Chinese Southern Dynasties</i>		Emperors :	
Eastern Tsin	317 419	Shun-Chih	1644 1662
Sung	420 477	Kang-Hsi	1662-1723
Chi	479-499	Yung-Cheng	1723-1736
Liang	499-557	Chien-Lung	1736-1796
Chen	557-589	Chia-Ching	1796-1821
<i>Barbarian North</i>		Tao-Kuang	1821-1850
Han	308-319	Hsien-Feng	1850-1861
Yen	336-370	Tung-Chi	1861-1875
Chao	316-328	Kuang-Hsu	1875-1908
Later Chao	329-351	Hsuan-Tung	1908 1911
Chin	351-394	(abdicated)	
Northern Wei	386-535	THE CHINESE REPUBLIC	
Northern Chi	550-581		
Northern Chou	557-589		

FOREWORD

THE OBJECT OF THE SERIES OF PAMPHLETS OF WHICH THIS IS THE FIRST IS A SIMPLE one. It is to give the Anglo-Saxon reader, as simply and pleasantly as possible, such information on the various aspects of Chinese life and culture as he has hitherto been unable to find in small compass.

It is hoped that it will be possible to issue, in fairly quick succession, other pamphlets dealing with the geography, literature, government, art, philosophy and other divisions of Chinese life and experience.

NEVILLE WHYMANT.

CHINESE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION.
LONDON OFFICE. 1944.

Section I

A BRIEF HISTORY OF CHINA

THE BEGINNING

THE CHINESE CIVILISATION IS THE MOST IMPORTANT LIVING CULTURE WHICH can be traced back in an unbroken line to the Stone Age. Continuity details are lacking here and there but sufficient of the past has already been brought to light to enable us to establish the general principle.

When Europeans first began serious study of Chinese history and culture various theories were formulated attempting to show that the Chinese took over their culture from nations living to the westward, e.g., the Babylonians and Accadians. It did not occur to these writers that the Chinese civilisation might well be indigenous. The generally accepted view to-day is that an indigenous civilisation sprang up among the Stone Age dwellers in the centre of the Yellow River Valley. It is not denied that in the course of long development through the centuries China has received influences from cultured neighbours to the West even as she gave in return some of her own.

In the earliest times of which we have even the scantiest knowledge, China was a very small area indeed compared with its present extent. The earliest Chinese of all had no seaboard—they were confined to a comparatively small district now absorbed into the border districts of Shansi, Shensi, and Kansu provinces. They were surrounded by non-Chinese tribes whose descendants have come down to our days under the names of Lolo, Miao, Chung-Chia, Hsi-Hsia and so on. As the Chinese people grew in numbers they encroached more and more upon the aboriginal territories and by a double process of conquest and absorption they incorporated some of the aborigines into their stock. Gradually they reached the coasts of the Yellow Sea and spread their settlements simultaneously towards the south and the north.

From the very earliest times the Chinese seem to have preserved unchanged certain well-defined characteristics. The so-called Peking Man (from the discovery of his remains near Peking, now Peiping) demonstrates conclusively that the northern Chinese type has not varied fundamentally for some 500,000 years.

In reviewing the long history of the Chinese the capacity of the nation for absorption of alien stocks must be borne in mind, otherwise the complete disappearance, as separate units, of widely differentiated peoples would not be understood. The Chinese possessed the dominant culture and found no difficulty in bringing all neighbouring peoples under its sway.

Most of our knowledge of prehistoric China is gained from relics of the past recovered, more or less accidentally, from the soil of Kansu, Shensi, Shansi and Honan. We say accidentally, for, until quite lately, the Chinese

have frowned upon archaeological excavation as desecration of the last resting-place of their dead. The Honan inscribed bones, the pottery finds at Anyang and the early bronzes all have a story to tell of the origin and development of early Chinese culture. We must, however, await further discoveries before anything like a full story of this distant past can be told.

Eventually, however, came the age of legend. The Chinese held that the founder of their nation was Pan Ku—the first man and progenitor of the Chinese people. On his death his body was divided up; his head became mountain-ranges, his eyes the sun and the moon, his arteries and veins rivers and streams, his hair trees and the down on his body became plants and herbs. The first rulers of whom we have record were the Three Emperors. This group of three rulers lived over a period of several centuries, the longevity enjoyed by each being indicative of divine origin and power. After the Three Emperors came the Five Rulers. The reigns of these eight personages constitute the legendary period of Chinese history.

Fuller details of this early Chinese period must await scientific excavation and investigation. But recent archaeological evidence supports old Chinese traditions concerning a dynasty and people known by the name of Shang.

THE EMERGENCE OF HISTORY PROPER

Following on the legendary and long-lived rulers mentioned above came the Hsia Dynasty (the so-called first dynasty of China). Little is known about this dynasty or the people of that time although it is possible that archaeological investigation will substantiate some of the legends current among the early Chinese. The following dynasty, however, may be said to be largely historical. In 1766 B.C., we are told, T'ang overthrew the Hsia at the command of Heaven and established the Shang dynasty. Certainly from about three centuries later we have material detailing the daily lives and some of the ceremonies of the people of Anyang under Shang rule.

We may, therefore, date authentic Chinese history from 1400 B.C. We know from finds unearthed at Anyang, the capital city of the later Shangs, that agriculture was their main preoccupation. They also hunted and fished but these activities were subordinated to the primary occupation of tilling the land. They domesticated wild animals (including the elephant, which was used in hauling heavy timber pillars for the loftier buildings of the capital city). Remains on well-identified and verified sites show that the domestic animals used for food by the Shangs were cattle, pigs, sheep, dogs and chickens. There is still much to be discovered about the Shangs and their institutions, and it will be better to pass on to a little more detailed study of the succeeding dynasty, the Chou.

The traditional dates for the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) show it as the longest in Chinese recorded history. This is, however, its least claim to notice. It saw the rise of the Chinese spirit to heights hitherto undreamed of and the development of those cultural influences and institutions which have made China one of the foremost civilising forces in human history. All Chinese political institutions emerged and developed in the early years of the period

and an ethical philosophy which was at once practical, idealistic and humanitarian in its working took its rise among the ruling and administrative classes. In fact, so outstanding is this period in its all-round development of Chinese culture that, for the most part, the earlier periods are left to the archaeologists and most historians began their serious consideration of Chinese history and culture with the Chous.

All the great names of Chinese philosophy, ethical and political theory and practice, such as Confucius, Mencius, etc., fall into the middle Chou period. There is, in fact, a close parallel with Ancient Greece, for at this same period the orators and philosophers of that Meriterranean land were flourishing; they were illustrating and expounding similar philosophical theories and were destined to divide into like schools of thought in the succeeding centuries. In China and Greece alike there developed the schools of pragmatists and idealists, of legists and metaphysicians. Both countries developed artistic and political tendencies which were to inform widely differing cultures and countries through the succeeding centuries down to our own day. As Europe has built upon the firm foundation of Greece and Rome, so have the countries of Further Asia built their several civilisations upon the Chou culture of China.

The Chou State was feudalistic. The various kingdoms were loosely held together by a patriarchal system and intermarriage between powerful clans. Nominal allegiance was paid to the head of the State by all the feudal princes and dukes but there was no true empire until the succeeding dynasty brought about complete unification of the various states under one supreme and autocratic emperor.

The sixth, fifth and fourth centuries B.C., though troubled enough in a political and military sense, saw the most brilliant development of the Chinese genius. Philosophers flourished and the language developed a literary style which was to remain the classical standard for over two thousand years. Ethical teachers (among whom was Confucius) wandered from state to state in an attempt to persuade the various rulers to adopt their system as a State policy of government and thus usher in the new Golden Age. The literary relics of the past (for the most part enshrined in the capacious memories of scholars) were committed to writing and the standardisation of texts began. Libraries were formed and critical catalogues were in the keeping of a State official who jealously guarded the archives entrusted to his care. It is said that when, disappointed as a peripatetic teacher, Confucius settled down to a sad old age, he edited all the works which have since come down to us as the Confucian Canon. One other valuable survival from this distant past is the oldest military treatise in the world, the Ping Fa, or *Art of War*, by Sun Tzu*.

It is worth while noting here that a remarkable contribution to human thought was made at this period by the philosopher Mo Tzu who, in semi-opposition to Confucius, propounded the doctrine of "Universal Love". It has been suggested that in many respects this doctrine runs parallel with the teaching of Christianity. It was certainly far too idealistic to appeal to the people of the rough times in which Mo Tzu lived; the more practical and robust ethico-political philosophy of Confucius, therefore, won the day and became the "orthodox" teaching of the schools*.

* See *Classics Section*.

Bit by bit the brilliance of the Chou thinkers dimmed. As they left the stage a revulsion set in and by the middle of the third century B.C. conditions had become chaotic. For generations now prince had struggled against prince for the hegemony, and at last a barbarian, ruler of the state of Ch'in in the north-west (modern Kansu), determined to conquer all the feudal princes and set up the first Nazi-Fascist State. All individualism was suppressed—the State alone mattered. No gentle-voiced philosopher appeared to challenge the thesis. The two legalist philosophers of the period, Shang Yang and Han Fei Tzu, have left us works which might have served as textbooks for the training of twentieth-century Nazis and Fascists.

A TOTALITARIAN INTERLUDE

The "lordly Chous" were succeeded by the Ch'in dynasty (256–207 B.C.), the first totalitarian regime in history. The ruler of the Ch'in State, having conquered all the feudal princes, one after another, took the reign title Shih Huang-ti, or "First Sovereign Emperor", and embarked on a course of vigorous action which has earned him the execration of all succeeding generations of Chinese. In order that he might indeed be the "First Emperor" to all posterity he ordered the destruction of all books and records save only works on medicine, divination and agriculture. All records of previous ages were to be blotted out and history was to begin with him. Naturally, this edict was not literally obeyed—some copies of ancient books were hidden by the old scholars. In any event it has been the Chinese custom from time immemorial to commit books to memory. This practice originated in the days when even small books were bulky affairs, being engraved with a steel implement on slips of bamboo. These slips were then fastened together with leather thongs. The carrying about of even a small library in those days would have been burdensome and the scholar developed a prodigious "literal" memory.

The Ch'ins were the world's first Nazis. There was no room in their scheme of things for any individualism; only the State and conquest counted. Penalties for even slight infringements of the law were severe and even the philosophers were regimented. Those who would not subscribe to the new totalitarian thesis and frame their codes of teaching in accord with it were put to death. Shih Huang-ti enunciated Bismarck's "blood and iron" thesis about 2,000 years before Bismarck was born.*

The Ch'ins undoubtedly produced a United China but it was not in the nature of the Chinese people to tolerate such a regime for long. After some forty years the Ch'in dynasty was overthrown and during the succeeding four centuries the Han dynasty—one of the most glorious in Chinese history—held sway. To this day Chinese are proud to call themselves "Sons of Han".

THE FIRST RENAISSANCE

Naturally the first reaction of the Hans was to correct the excesses of their predecessors. The ancient writings were brought out of hiding or transcribed

* See *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China*, by Arthur Waley (Allen & Unwin), for details of the thought of this period.

anew from memory. The severe penalties were abrogated and a more genial legal procedure was adopted. Literature flourished and new writers appeared. The old Classics were annotated by the best brains of the day and new commentaries were written. A certain amount of forgery appears in this period but perhaps not quite so much as some scholars would have us believe. Eager writers attempting to supply lacunæ caused by the " Burning of the Books " were not so scrupulous in their efforts as strict scholarship demands and the result has been a wholesale charge of " forging documents of antiquity ".

There is no escaping the fact, however, that Chinese literature as we now have it owes a heavy debt to the Han scholars. Some of the most lucid and logical commentaries on the Confucian Canon are due to acute Han brains and original thinkers were not lacking either. One of the most penetrating intellects of all time was a true son of Han ; Wang Ch'ung, born early in the first century A.D., was the most original and judicious thinker of his day. His collected essays in thirty volumes give us a most vivid picture of his own times and their intellectual preoccupations and his bold refutation of current superstitions and practices earned for him the enmity of his contemporaries and the admiration of later ages. A shrewd foreign critic has said of his works that they form the most valuable bequest of ancient China to the world at large.

The poetry of the Han dynasty set the form for later styles. The pottery, following closely the Chou dynasty bronzes in shape and feature, has a grace and bold beauty hitherto unparalleled. It is held by some authorities that the Hans knew porcelain also, although the date usually adopted for the invention of porcelain is some two centuries later than the end of Han.

Throughout the Han period China was threatened from without by two barbarian peoples, the Hsiung-nu, who were spread between north Shansi and Baikal Lake, and the Yueh Chih, who occupied part of the present province of Kansu. It was as a barrier against the constant incursions of the Hsiung-nu (or Huns) that the First Emperor built the Great Wall, or, rather, joined together the numerous gigantic watch-towers by a stout wall, making one continuous obstacle.

It was during the earlier part of the Han dynasty, too, that Chang Ch'ien made his great exploratory journey into Turkestan by way of north-west China. This was a very arduous undertaking in those days but several closely documented records of Chang Ch'ien's journey have come down to our times. One of these records appears in the great work of Ssu-ma Ch'ien (who has been called the Herodotus of China). In the latter part of the Han dynasty a mission from Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor of Rome, brought gifts to the Chinese capital ; this is the first authentic record of interchange between the Far East and the Western World, although it is recorded in the dynastic history that entertainers from Rome had reached Burma by sea in the year A.D. 120.*

PERIOD OF THE THREE KINGDOMS

Given more to æsthetic and literary pursuits than to the art of government, the Hans were unable to maintain the unity of China and in the third century

* See parallels in table following *Art* Section.

A.D. we find the country split into three kingdoms. There is an old saying in Chinese : " That which has long been divided will again be united and that which has long been united will fall again into disunion." The Three Kingdoms Period has acquired a glamour far beyond its merits owing to the popularity of the historical novel, *San Kuo Chih Yen I* or *Romantic Story of the Three Kingdoms Period*. Incidents from this story are favourite parts of the stock-in-trade of the itinerant story-tellers all over China and audiences never tire of hearing over and over again the details of the struggle between the different heroes of the warring factions.

There were, however, barbarian tribes in the north ready to seize every advantage offered to them by Chinese disunity. These were the " Five Hu " or " foreign tribes " of Turkic, Mongolian and Tibetan blood. They broke in wave after wave over the frontier and occupied all northern China, driving the Chinese southward. In course of time the House of Toba, the chief of the barbarian hordes, became strong enough to subdue the other Hu tribes and set up the so-called Wei dynasty in the north, leaving six purely Chinese dynasties running the south of China between them.

As was the case with " rude Rome conquered by the culture of her captured Greeks " so the Wei dynasty was culturally conquered by Chinese civilisation, and what had been a fierce nomad tribe became a cultured settled people. The outstanding achievement of this dynasty was the production of superb stone carvings, mostly of religious significance but carvings not only of supreme beauty and delicacy but also of great value to the anthropologist and historian. From these carvings the manners and customs, style of dress and type of architectural decoration may be studied with profit. Earthenware figures of exquisite simplicity also date from this period. These figures were buried with the dead as servitors in effigy to wait upon the spirit in the world beyond the grave.

While the Wei dynasty brought some semblance of unity to the north, though not without much devastation, a similar process was going on among the struggling Chinese dynasties in the south. Finally a vigorous minister of one of these houses quelled all opposition and overcame the resistance of the northern dynasty. The result was the reunification of China in the year 589. The new dynasty was known as the Sui.

Apart from their outstanding achievements in art-forms the two dynasties Wei and Sui are remarkable for the spread of Buddhist teaching throughout China. It would seem that Confucianism during its thousand-year occupancy of the people's minds had failed to satisfy one normal human desire—tha of worship. The ceremonies of Confucianism were primarily of a social and ethical order, largely concerned with political and Court administration, and they had no power to withstand the colourful *religious* ceremonies of the Buddhists. While at first (especially during the Han period) Buddhism was taken over almost unchanged from its Indian source, by the end of the Wei dynasty it had become sufficiently sinicised to be taken almost for a Chinese growth. The sculptured stones and shrines, the numerous cliff-carvings and the moulded clay figures of Buddhist priests and nuns betray their foreign inspiration only to the initiated—in all outward essentials they are Chinese and Chinese only.

The great translators of Buddhist scriptures also belong to these two dynasties and during the closing years of the fourth century A.D. one of the

most amazing pilgrimages undertaken by man started from China and went overland to Buddha's birthplace in north India, thence south to Ceylon and back to China by sea. The perils of the way and the sufferings of the pilgrims are told in vivid detail by the leader of the little band, Hsuan Tsang, in his *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*.

The Sui dynasty was very short-lived. The Grand Canal still survives as a memorial of this period of twenty-nine years.

THE GREAT T'ANG DYNASTY

In 618 began the ever-glorious T'ang dynasty. This period ranks with the Han in the brilliance of its intellectual life, painting, poetry and music. The indescribably beautiful T'ang sculpture which has come down to our day has as modern an appeal as have the best works of Ancient Greece and they are as immortal. In their universal and timeless appeal to the minds and hearts of men the poems and essays of the T'ang dynasty are immortal works of human genius. The luxuriance and general grandeur of this period and its outstanding intellectual legacies to posterity have frequently tended to obscure the fact that, politically, the T'ang dynasty was far from being the Golden Age. Bitter wars raged and, for a great part of the population, life was a bitter struggle for mere existence in well-nigh intolerable conditions. The period began brilliantly enough, indeed, with all the high promise of the Han and similar dynasties under the leadership of an outstanding personality. But the irresistible stream of intellectual achievement bore all forward with it until a high peak of luxury and self-indulgence for the favoured few was reached and the inevitable consequence of envy and place-seeking quarrels led to rebellions and insurrections. One poem from this period stands out as a tortured cry from a tormented spirit: *The Lament of the Lady of Ch'in*. Few can read this tragic composition and remain unmoved.

From this period date the world's earliest daily newspaper, *The Peking Gazette*, and the Civil Service examination system, by means of which the ruling class of China were recruited throughout the succeeding dynasties of Imperial China. The Sui dynasty had already formed the framework of the system but the early T'angs developed it into what it remained until the collapse of the Manchus in 1911. So it may fairly be said that from this period dates the transfer of actual power from the aristocracy to an intellectual class qualified by training and cultural discipline.

The drama was born under the influences of the early monarchs of this dynasty. The Emperor Hsuan Tsung, himself a poet of no mean order, conceived the idea of a training college for musicians and actors in an orchard in the palace grounds. "The Pear Tree Garden" became famous as a sort of academy for the training of such as wished to follow the declamatory art, and to this day actors and musicians refer to themselves as "Members of the Pear Tree Garden".

This Emperor, whose passion for art and the drama led him to such excesses in his love of beauty that he imperilled the dynasty and brought untold suffering on his people, fell under the spell of the indescribable beauty of his favourite, Yang Kuei-fei. No student of Chinese literature can avoid the innumerable

references to her in the literature of this period and throughout the centuries which followed. So far as the Emperor and his dynasty were concerned she was indeed a *femme fatale*. The bewitched ruler yielded to Kuei-fei's every whim and members of her family were installed in responsible posts which they were far from qualified to fill. The Court was filled with intriguers plotting and counter-plotting. Eventually the riot of luxuriance, material and intellectual, was shattered by the rebellion led by An Lu-shan, governor of one of the northern prefectures. The Emperor was forced to abandon his capital and fly to the west (the very district where in 1938 the Chinese Government took refuge from the Japanese). But at one very rugged point in their progress westward the imperial guards refused to go on. They rebelled and attacked the relatives of Kuei-fei and finally compelled that ill-starred beauty to hang herself from a tree with a noose of white silk, while the Emperor stood helplessly by. The rebellion was at length suppressed and the rightful heir succeeded the Emperor, who had abdicated and gone into retirement.

But the glory of the T'angs had departed with Hsuan Tsung, never to return. There was an Indian summer before the final eclipse of the dynasty, but it was merely a pale reflection of the grandeur that had been. The remaining poets and essayists sadly set down in autumnal prose their griefs in the present and their longing for the bright days that had gone.

It is interesting to note that the military and political systems of the T'ang dynasty (which incidentally made possible the An Lu-shan rebellion) begat the war-lord system which has been the bane of China through the centuries. Internecine struggles led to growing power being concentrated in the hands of one or other of the regional governors. Such a one had merely to bide his time and then raise a revolt.

The end of T'ang was foreshadowed by a second rebellion, that of Huang Ch'ao (875-884). This rebellion began in simple banditry and ended by becoming even more bloody and devastating in its effects than the earlier one. The revolt was eventually quelled but only at the cost of utter exhaustion and the ruling house tottered to its fall. There followed a fifty-year period of confusion wherein minor dynasties attempted in vain to set up a stable government.

THE PERIOD OF CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

The disappearance of the T'angs marked the end of the Classical Period of Chinese history. The Sung dynasty (960-1279) is noteworthy as a period of critical examination and appraisal. To be sure a new form of poetry (the Tz'u) was invented, but for the most part the Sungs were critics and editors rather than innovators. A new assessment was made of the works of the Han scholars and the work of intervening writers was brought under the searching gaze of acute scholars whose questioning minds were not prepared to accept tradition as an excuse for intellectual apathy. Up to this time the Han interpretation of the Confucian Canon had been accepted without question. Now, however, one of China's greatest scholars, Chu Hsi, undertook a completely new commentary on the Confucian writings. His commentary was accepted as standard and remained, till modern times, the last word in interpretation.

All students sitting the official examinations for Government posts were required to know the Chu Hsi commentary and all their individual interpretations had to be in accord with it.

The Sung dynasty was prominent also for the political regeneration which took place in its earlier years. It has been noted that the T'ang were politically defective and the collapse of the T'ang dynasty left the internal economy of China in a worse state than ever before. Reforms were urgently needed and the demand produced the man. In these days of Beveridge plans and social betterment schemes in the West, we may point to Wang An-shih, "the Reformer", of the Sung dynasty as the first Beveridge. His reforms were so "modern" and revolutionary that they aroused the most bitter antagonism. Most of them, however, did become statutory if only for a time, although Wang lived long enough to see all his idealistic plans for the improvement of his country's economic status both adopted and rejected.

Apart from the new interpretation of the Confucian Canon there was much literary effort in the Sung period, effort tending towards a new literary style. The arts of painting and calligraphy flourished and a critical attitude towards the earlier schools made itself felt. There was an air of restraint, no doubt induced largely by the exultant brilliance of the T'ang productions. The Western scholar is reminded of the respective attitudes of the Greeks and Romans in antiquity: the brilliant flash of Greek genius tempered to the steady burning of a constant flame in the more sober Roman atmosphere. There is much of the same somewhat heavy tediousness in the productions of the Sung academies as appears in the graver Roman literary and artistic efforts. The T'angs light-heartedly enjoyed life and gave little thought to the graver things of human interest. The Sungs took themselves and the world very seriously and their work bears the imprint of this *gravitas*.

But in spite of valiant efforts the Sungs were unable to settle the economic turmoil which swept the country and brought the citizens to the very edge of starvation and revolt. Taxation mounted to hitherto unheard of heights and life became a burden hardly to be borne. Landowners became a wealthy class and held the peasantry in fee; produce was due to the landlord in discharge of debts contracted while it was growing. Should the crops fail the peasantry were indeed in a parlous state. It is noteworthy that at the very beginning of this evil of usurious landlordism, Wang An-shih saw its inherent dangers and produced measures to counter it. This was called the "green-shoot" scheme. When the green shoots of the crops first made their appearance and small farmers stood in urgent need of money for payment of extra labour, fertilisers and similar services and goods the Government would make a loan and save the farmers from the usurer. When the grain had been harvested the loan was to be repaid (with a fixed rate of interest) to the Government.

Many of Wang's reforms (notably his principles of taxation) have formed a basis for all later Chinese administrators. China also had her "Doomsday Book" in this period when a new land survey was carried out in order that a basic system of taxation might be established. When he turned from the civil to the military sphere Wang An-shih drastically reformed the Army and, keeping the best troops as the standing force, he organised the remainder

into a territorial army, disbanding altogether and sending home those who would obviously never make soldiers, regular or territorial. He then organised a militia on a levy basis.

Judged from this distance of time it is generally felt that the numerous reforms initiated by Wang An-shih in the eleventh century of our era appear to provide a fairly complete scheme for the good conduct of society and the safeguarding of the State. It is the opinion of some of the most competent of modern Chinese critics that Wang was many centuries ahead of his time. No doubt can exist about the bitter opposition he aroused in his contemporaries, but he has found many powerful apologists in later times. The sad fact remains that from a variety of causes Wang's measures were not able to rescue the China of his day from the social and political decay into which she had fallen. No doubt his measures were too radical for his fellow-statesmen. No doubt, too, the people of the time were unable to adapt themselves to a completely new organisation of their lives.

China was still a lure to those beyond her borders who coveted her riches and luxury. The efforts of the Sung in the arts produced porcelains which even to-day stand without a rival, paintings whose delicacy and inspiration are beyond description, metal work and stone carvings of strength and virility of design and calligraphy of a very high standard. Every scholar was in some sense a collector of *objets d'art*, and many fine collections were assembled during this dynasty to be passed down from generation to generation—in some cases even to our own day.

The internal condition of the Chinese Empire towards the end of the thirteenth century tempted the Mongols to try once more to seize the glittering prize at which they had gazed so long and so hungrily. Their attacks from north of the Great Wall had gradually changed from simple foraging raids in the early days to large-scale expeditions aimed at securing control of big cities and large provinces. The chaos and confusion of the closing years of the Sung dynasty gave these impetuous and virile warriors their long-awaited chance. They met scattered opposition, fierce enough in some localities but not sufficiently co-ordinated to hold them up for long. It was but a short time before the remnants of the Sung forces were compelled to retreat to the south-eastern coast in an attempt, foredoomed to failure, to keep the dynasty alive. By 1279 the Mongols were masters of the vast Chinese Empire.

The Mongols were savage fighters and at first wholesale slaughter and destruction marked the path of the invaders. It was not long, however, before the cultural influence of China exerted its softening influence on the barbarian invader and Kublai Khan is presented to later generations as a civilised and indeed wise ruler. The interested reader can find an account of this ruler and his Court in the *Travels* of Marco Polo. From this period of journeys across vast distances dates the introduction into Europe of some Chinese inventions, notably paper and printing (long known in China), the mariner's compass and gunpowder.

By 1279 the Mongols had completed their conquest of China, including Korea, Indo-China and Burma. This was its peak and the brief but ardent flame which had burned in Jenghiz Khan, his sons and his grandsons was now to die away and the Mongols were to become once more the fierce uncultured

nomads they had hitherto been. It was not in their nature to live settled lives in civilised cities, though uncounted thousands of them were absorbed by the Chinese, leaving little trace in their descendants of their "barbarian" origin.

In the first half of the fourteenth century there were bad famines which the Mongol Government did nothing to alleviate, if, in fact, it was aware of such a state of things. The people, slighted by the arrogant aliens in power, began to murmur and perpetual victimisation of Chinese citizens by Mongol officials began to bear fruit.

The Mongol dynasty did, indeed, give one great treasure to the Chinese people—the drama. This is not to say that the dramatic art developed and sprang into full flower overnight. The beginnings were even further back than the Pear Tree Garden of the T'angs, but it is certain that the play flourished in the Mongol period as never before or since. All the great names of musical dances, plays, mimes and charades belong to the Mongol dynasty. One result was the new rank given to vernacular literature. Until this time the scholars affected to despise anything but the classical written style, but now stories in colloquial became plays in the speech of the people. It was now possible to read aloud something written and for it to be immediately understood!

A new boldness and vigour informed the painting of this period. Although many critics consider the T'ang paintings superior to the Sung and both immeasurably better than the Mongol art, yet there are not wanting those who see the "somewhat insipid" Sung paintings shouldered vigorously aside by the bold lines and strong rhythm of the Mongol artists. They say, in effect, that what the infusion of Mongol blood did to the Chinese people, the introduction of Mongol spirit did to Chinese art.

THE GREAT MING DYNASTY

In 1368 the Chinese cast out their conquerors and set up their own national dynasty once more. The "power from the North" was countered by revolutionaries from the South, who made their line of frontier defence on the Yangtse River and their capital Nanking.

The revolt of these Chinese against the alien Mongol dynasty was a truly national movement which was often quoted by the revolutionary party when the time came for the overthrow of the later Manchu régime. For some time the new-found fervour for national sovereignty held the field and the Ming dynasty promised fair to hold true to its name—"Illustrious". The Mings struggled to revive the glories of "the true China of old". This struggle expressed itself in the erection of huge palaces, shrines, temples, tombs and other buildings, which have stood for centuries as monuments of Ming architecture. A large part of the glory of Peking as known to foreigners of the past two centuries is directly due to the efforts of the Mings to surpass the achievements of their forebears.

The world's most comprehensive anthology (Yung Lo Ta Tien) was in 36,000 volumes and seven copies were handwritten and deposited in various parts of the country. The task of printing it was found too great at the time

when preparations were being made and the printing was never carried out. This compilation was devised to contain all the serious and valuable work that had ever appeared in Chinese.

The arts also flourished but as the years of Ming sovereignty extended they showed a decline. The porcelains were still as fine in quality, but the decoration was rapidly becoming decadent. The Chinese people had had great hopes of this new "Chinese" dynasty; they had undergone much in order to sweep away the hated foreigners from their soil. They were, therefore, tolerant of much that would, in other circumstances, have distressed them. When their own leader as the Emperor T'ai Tsu proved uncompromising in his efforts to restore order and his opponents in the State were summarily executed, they forgave everything for the sake of the "Chinese" dynasty. But there were interludes of revolt and armed risings; there was much that could not be tolerated even in a State now freed from the "barbarians".

The removal of the capital to Peking acted as a defence measure against invasion from the north and east. The Mongols were still a menace on the northern frontier and there was a threat from the Manchus as well as from the Japanese who, pirate-fashion, hungrily raided the coasts of China throughout the prosperous Ming dynasty. The Japanese even sent expeditions against the north-eastern frontiers of China but these were easily repelled by the Chinese. In the south the Emperor's armies advanced into the interior of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. This was a great period for Chinese navigation, and the name and fame of the Chinese Empire was carried throughout the Pacific islands and the countries bordering on the Pacific.

It was not long before protracted strife between the eunuch-ridden Court circles and the genuine scholars who resented the presence of ignorant jack-in-office, where their influence could do only harm, weakened still further an already decrepit dynasty. Hideyoshi (a mediæval Tojo) had already begun to nibble at Korea (thus threatening the capital, though from a distance). But a more immediate and serious menace loomed. The newly arisen Manchus were vigorous, fierce fighters, aggressive by nature and envious of the treasures spread before their eyes south of the Great Wall.

The last Emperor of the Ming dynasty came to the Dragon Throne at a time when expenditure on war had depleted the treasury and when famine years had driven uncounted thousands of the citizens to become bandits. A revolt began in the north-west and numerous struggles ended in devastation over vast areas. In the general confusion the Manchu forces broke through the Great Wall defences and soon captured Peking. The Manchu leader then mounted the throne and in 1644 the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty began.

THE MANCHU DYNASTY

Although the culture of the Mings was on a lower level than that of earlier dynasties it was by no means negligible. Much was produced which was not only typically in the Chinese tradition although showing a later and somewhat more ornate flowering, but which is worthy of the attention of the student of Chinese culture. Cloisonné and embroideries of a type to attract many Western

collectors were introduced in profusion, jade-carvings and carvings of rhinoceros horn, agate, cornelian, chrysoprase, gold and silver, show an elegance which, in spite of its decadence, has a definite appeal. Little original work was done in painting—it was mostly copying of earlier and more inspired originals. The same applies to writing in the classical style, but under the Mings novels and plays—those outcasts from literary circles—came into their own. The great novels of China date from this period, but again origins and plots come from earlier dynasties. It cannot be denied that creative power had vanished from the Chinese mind and a new stimulus was needed.

This stimulus, as so often before, came from outside. An alien stock, by conquest and permeation, was to infuse a new vigour into Chinese cultural effort.

At the time when the Mings were in power Manchuria consisted only of the northern part of the territory which is now known by that name. The southern part of what is now Manchuria was the Chinese prefecture of Chien Chou and this prefecture was occupied and annexed by the Manchus as the first stage of their conquest of north China. Once again we have the picture of the toiling millions of China so occupied with wresting a living from the soil or from their small businesses that political and dynastic changes meant little or nothing. The nationality of the Emperor or the political colour of the Government mattered little in comparison with the paramount necessity of winning a livelihood from the earth. This has been the weakness of China throughout her history. Except for brief flashes of insight such as those which ushered in the Han and Ming dynasties the Chinese have lacked political vision, and there has been no means of instilling it.

It needed, perhaps, the ruthlessness of a Shih Huang-ti to rouse the Chinese to some sort of vision of what national freedom might mean. It was obvious, probably, to some of the autocratic rulers of China that a mighty population, politically educated and able to think for itself, might constitute a deadly menace to autocracy. So the people remained untaught and a mere handful of traditionally appointed scholars ruled while a regiment of eunuchs near the throne plotted and planned.

The early Manchu emperors showed some intelligence in their assumption of power. Realising that the Chinese might impress upon them—even passively—the fact that they were the cultural superiors of their conquerors, they appointed the leading scholars of China as Imperial Tutors and set themselves to master the world of Chinese literature. All the arts were encouraged and gigantic literary compilations were put in hand. The standard dictionary of the Chinese language (K'ang Hsi Tzu Tien) bears the name of the emperor under whose authority it was prepared (seventeenth century). From this period dates the great encyclopædia which summarised all knowledge found in the records from the remotest past down to the date of compilation. It runs to several thousands of volumes with countless illustrations and a complete index.

Libraries were set up and catalogued, art collections were formed and listed, industries connected with the fine arts were encouraged and the Empire went from strength to strength in military as well as in civil affairs. The more

enlightened Manchu emperors even gave some slight encouragement to foreigners from the West who were by this time becoming more numerous and insistent.

The beginning of decay in Manchu power coincided with the period of greatest pressure from the West. Christianity, which had made a brief and triumphant appearance in the seventh century with the coming of the Nestorian refugees from Persia, now set itself to storm the Middle Kingdom in real earnest. Jesuits of eminence arrived and taught science and Western thought as well as Christian doctrine. Some of these Jesuit scholars impressed the Manchu emperors favourably and, like their Nestorian forerunners, they were given Imperial patronage and accommodation.

Out of the confusion which covers the Court intrigues of the period of Manchu decline emerges the undoubted fact that false steps were taken on both sides. The Christian apologists, eager for converts, allied themselves with members of secret societies whose main preoccupation was the overthrow of the Manchu régime and the establishment of a purely Chinese political order. The Manchu authorities, always ready to crush opposition, made no attempt to discriminate between purely religious organisations and those with mixed aims ; all alike were suspect and persecution assumed dangerous proportions. In 1850, when action by a balanced, far-sighted leader might, at one stroke, have removed the Manchus and set China on a firm path, there broke out the disastrous T'ai'ping rebellion. This " crusade ", as its leader called it, cost innumerable lives and caused the loss of much cultural treasure. Wars broke out with England and France and ended with the utter rout of the Manchu forces.

It soon became evident, even to the Manchu rulers themselves, that if they were to continue to hold power some effort must be made to conciliate the leaders of the dangerous forces at the head of the revolutionary groups. Various reforms were proposed and had a seemingly good chance of being carried into effect when the notorious Empress Dowager, Tzu Hsi, removed the offending sovereign from his seat of power and set back the hands of the clock by again taking the reins herself.

Disaster followed disaster, rising followed rising. Each revolt, mercilessly put down by the authorities, led only to another as soon as the moment was propitious. The rising of the Boxers in 1900 was the logical outcome of the failure of the T'ai'ping rebellion and the numerous abortive revolts in between. The Manchu dynasty had not long to run but its death struggles were far from dignified.

One man in particular watched with understanding and distress the tortured path along which his countrymen trod in these final years of the Manchu dynasty. Born in 1866, Sun Yat-sen showed from his earliest years a rebellious spirit and an intolerance of injustice. He had also, however, a keen appreciation of the folly of precipitancy. He had taken to heart the lessons of previous risings and he knew well that the organisation of a revolutionary party was no easy matter. One false step and the work of years would be wasted.

He knew the temper of his own people : he knew, moreover, that as the great mass was illiterate it would be more than difficult to get concerted action

at the right time and place. But he had his share of Chinese patience. He was prepared to wait so long as this did not entail idleness. He travelled the world to gain sympathy and funds for his cause. He was frequently in hiding from the authorities and a price was put on his head. He was captured and held prisoner in London by the Legation authorities and was wrested from this charge by official intervention. The full story of his life is as strange an account as fiction can show, but it was mainly through the efforts of this one man that the Manchus were overthrown and the Chinese Republic came into being.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was born in a farming village in Hsiang Shan Hsien, in the province of Kwangtung, on November 12th, 1866—two years after the ending of the great T'ai-p'ing Rebellion (1850–64) and 222 years after the Manchus entered China and founded the Ching dynasty (1644).

He once said of himself: "I am a coolie and the son of a coolie. I was born with the poor, and I am still poor. My sympathies have always been with the struggling mass."

When twelve years old, he went to Honolulu in 1879 to visit his emigrant elder brother, and was sent to a boys' school where, at the end of the third year, he was awarded the second prize in English grammar. He returned home in 1883. From 1884 to 1886 he studied at Queen's College, Hong Kong. It was in Hong Kong that he became a baptised Christian.

In 1886 he took up medicine under the American missionary surgeon, Dr. John A. Kerr, in Canton. When the new Medical School was established in Hong Kong in 1887, Sun Yat-sen was the first student to register. Here he studied for five years and graduated in 1892 with a certificate of Proficiency in Medicine and Surgery.

He practised medicine and surgery in Macao and then in Canton. But his professional career did not last long. For he had become interested in other and more important things. He had already become a leader of a secret movement for the reform and remaking of China.

Dr. Sun tells us that his revolutionary plans dated back to the year 1885 when China fought France and was defeated, resulting in the loss of Annam: "I resolved in that year that the Manchu régime must go and that a Chinese republic must be established." He was then in his nineteenth year. From that time on, says he, "the school was my place of propaganda, and medicine my medium for entrance into the world."

In 1893, on the eve of the first Sino-Japanese War, Dr. Sun made a visit to North China, and presented a memorandum to the Chinese statesman, Li Hung-chang. The memorandum is remarkable as a record of the young revolutionary's early political ideas. In this paper, Dr. Sun formulated the four fundamental objectives of a modern state: (1) to enable man to exert his utmost capability; (2) to utilise land to its utmost fertility; (3) to use material nature to its utmost utility; and (4) to circulate goods with the utmost fluidity.

The next year (1894) war broke out between China and Japan. China was badly defeated; and the weakness of the old régime was clearly exposed to the whole nation and to the whole world.

Dr. Sun thought this was the best opportunity for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. He went to Honolulu and founded the Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Restoring of China). He returned to China early in 1895, and began to plot for an armed uprising and seizure of the city of Canton as a base of the Revolution. It was an elaborate plot, requiring half a year of preparation and involving hundreds of people. But it failed, and over seventy were arrested. Three were executed, including one of Dr. Sun's intimate comrades. A price of 1,000 dollars was set on Sun's person. He was only 29.

After his escape from Canton, Dr. Sun went to Japan, whence he proceeded to Honolulu and visited the United States for the first time. In September, 1896, Dr. Sun sailed from New York for England, arriving in London on October 1st.

On October 11th, 1896, Dr. Sun was kidnapped by officials of the Chinese Legation. He was imprisoned there for twelve days and it was undoubtedly the intention of the Chinese Government to smuggle him back to China to be executed as the arch-enemy of the Throne.

By winning the sympathy of an English servant in the Legation, Dr. Sun succeeded in sending a message to his English teacher and host, Dr. James Cantlie. Through the efforts of Dr. Cantlie, the story was published in a London newspaper, and the Chinese Legation immediately became the centre of newspaper reporters. The Secretary of the Legation had to admit the presence of an involuntary guest at the Legation! At the request of the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Sun was released on October 23rd.

This dramatic episode made his name known throughout the United Kingdom, Europe and America. It made him a world figure at the age of 30.

For two years (1896-98) he remained in England and Europe. These years were most fruitful in the development of his political and social ideas. "What I saw and heard during those two years," said Dr. Sun, "gave me much insight (into the situation in the West). I began to realise that, in spite of great achievements in wealth and military prowess, the great powers of Europe have not yet succeeded in providing the greatest happiness of the vast majority of the people; and that the reformers in these European countries were working hard for a new social revolution. This led my thought toward a more fundamental solution of China's problems. I was, therefore, led to include the principle of the people's livelihood on the same level as the principles of nationalism and democracy. Thus were formulated my three principles."

It was about this time that he made a study of the socialistic literature of England and continental Europe. He was especially influenced by Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. He never became a Single Taxer; but George's theories on the social origin of the rise of land value and the importance of public control of land left a permanent impression on his social teachings.

After leaving Europe in 1898, he returned to the East and resided in Japan for two years (1898-1900). He came into contact with the leaders of the popular parties of Japan.

China was then going through turbulent times. Japan, Russia, Germany, Britain, and France had seized important territories from China. The country

was being mapped out into "spheres of influence" of imperialistic powers. There was much talk about the "partitioning of China".

The glamorous "one hundred days' reforms" came in 1898 and were swept away by the reactionary forces under the leadership of the ignorant Empress Dowager. Then came the Boxer movement in 1900, which resulted in the armed intervention by the joint forces of eight foreign powers.

Dr. Sun saw in this situation his opportunity for another attempt to start his anti-monarchical revolution, which was launched in the autumn of 1900 at Canton and Huichow.

During the first years of the new century, thousands of Chinese students were flocking to Japan to study at her schools and universities. Dr. Sun found many of these mature students ready to listen to his teachings and follow his leadership. So, in 1905, he founded in Tokyo the Chung-kuo Tung-meng Hui (the Chinese Society of Covenanters), with original members representing seventeen of the eighteen provinces of China. Each member must pledge under oath solemnly to carry out the terms of the covenant, to wit: (1) Drive away the Tartars; (2) Recover China for the Chinese; (3) Establish a Republic; (4) Equalise ownership of land.

From 1906 to 1911 at least ten uprisings were started. (He counted only nine as under the direction of himself or the Party.) Nine times they failed, each time costing the lives of many heroic martyrs. But the tenth uprising which broke out at Wuchang, opposite Hankow, on October 10th, 1911, finally succeeded. In the brief time of a month, thirteen of the eighteen provinces responded to the revolutionary call and declared their independence of the Manchu dynasty.

Dr. Sun was then in America and read the news of the Wuchang success in a morning paper at a small hotel in Denver, Colorado. He quietly travelled eastward to New York and thence to England and Europe, finally sailing from Marseilles in November and arriving in Shanghai on December 24th.

On December 29th, 1911, the Provisional Senate of the Republic met and, by a vote of 16 to 1, elected Sun Yat-sen Provisional President of the Republic. On New Year's Day, 1912, he was inaugurated President at Nanking.

Meanwhile, negotiations had been going on for a peaceful coming together of the provinces. The dynasty was no longer capable of making any resistance. But a powerful Chinese politician, Yuan Shih-kai, was in command of a formidable army. The objective in the negotiations was to win over Yuan Shih-kai to the support of the Revolution.

On February 12th the Throne abdicated, thus terminating 267 years of Manchu rule in China. On the 13th Dr. Sun presented his resignation to the Provisional Senate. The next day his resignation was accepted, and Yuan Shih-kai was elected Provisional President.

Dr. Sun was Provisional President only 45 days. His resignation was an act of self-sacrifice best symbolising his great patriotism and his Christian spirit.

Unfortunately, the man on whom Dr. Sun had placed his mantle turned out to be reactionary and a traitor to the Republic.

In the next few years a fierce struggle went on between Dr. Sun's newly reorganised party, the Kuomintang (the People's Party), and the reactionary forces under Yuan Shih-kai. The Kuomintang had an overwhelming majority in both Houses of the new Parliament elected in 1913. But the reaction had military and financial power on its side. The Kuomintang was dissolved by force, and finally the Parliament was dissolved by force. Dr. Sun went into exile in Japan, and Yuan Shih-kai soon made himself Emperor. All liberal parties united in fighting against this monarchical restoration. Yuan Shih-kai died a disappointed man on June 6th, 1916. But the dark forces he had released lived on after him and ran amok for a number of years to come.

For the next decade (1916-25) Dr. Sun sometimes lived in Shanghai, devoting his time to studying and writing, but, on many occasions, he took an active part in revolutionary campaigns against the militaristic reaction. His successes were only intermittent and insignificant.

In 1924 he undertook a radical reorganisation of his party on the model of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia. This reorganisation, in the light of history, was far more significant than his many political and military campaigns since the founding the Republic. The important steps taken at that time included : (1) the enlargement of the party membership by soliciting the enrolment of younger men and women throughout the country ; (2) the formal admission of members of the Chinese Communist Party to active membership in the Kuomintang ; (3) the employment of a number of Russian political and military advisers ; (4) the revival of nationalism as the paramount issue aiming at the freeing of China from the historical shackles of the "unequal treaties" which the imperialistic powers had imposed on China for nearly a century ; (5) the founding of the Whampoa Military Academy under the directorship of Chiang Kai-shek, for the training of new and ideologically inspired officers as a nucleus of a new Revolutionary Army.

None of these important measures had shown tangible results when Dr. Sun died in Peking on March 12th, 1925. But he had the satisfaction to read on his deathbed the cheering news that, in that very week, his armies under the lead of the young officers of the Whampoa Academy were scoring crushing victories over the reactionary forces. Two weeks after his death, the province of Kwangtung was entirely free from opposing forces, and thus became the consolidated base for the new Nationalist Revolution of which Dr. Sun had dreamed for years, but which did not succeed in unifying the nation until a few years after his death.

In 1918 Dr. Sun planned to write a series of books under the general scheme of "planning for National Reconstruction". His plan was interrupted by subsequent political activities, and only the following works were published : (1) *The Philosophy of Sun Wen* (1919) ; (2) *The First Step in Democracy* (which is a translation of an American textbook on parliamentary rules) (1919) ; (3) *The International Development of China* (1921)* ; (4) *An Outline of National Reconstruction for the National Government* (1924) ; (5) *Sixteen Lectures on San Min Chu I* (1924).

Dr. Sun's greatest contribution to Chinese nationalism lies in the great vigour and force of his personal leadership which revitalised the nationalistic

* Recently published in this country on behalf of the Chinese Ministry of Information by Hutchinson & Co.

consciousness of the Chinese people and made it the irresistible driving force, first against the alien rule of the Manchu dynasty, and later against foreign domination in China. He lived to see the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. But history will undoubtedly give him full credit for his part in the new nationalist movement which has made possible the political unification of China, the long and successful resistance to Japanese aggression, and, last but not least, the final abolition of the "unequal treaties" which was realised last year by the new treaties concluded between China and Great Britain and between China and the United States respectively.

It was fortunate for China and for the world that the movement of Chinese nationalism was led and guided by Dr. Sun, whose Anglo-Saxon education, scientific training and international outlook were all great assets in directing what might have been a destructive and explosive force into moderate and constructive channels.

Of the six lectures he had planned on the people's livelihood, only four were delivered. In the incomplete documents he has left us, there is not much in his economic programme which can be regarded as truly new. His contribution consists in his moderation and usual eclecticism. Although he was at one time willing to co-operate with the Communists, he was never converted to the Marxist theories of class struggle and materialistic interpretation of history. He had great faith in the power of the non-economic factors in history—the power of the mind, the will, and the ideas. Indeed his book, *The Philosophy of Sun Wen*, was published with the sub-title, "Psychological Reconstruction". He was never tired of preaching that a psychological and intellectual revolution must precede any important political and economic change. And the story of his life was the best proof of the validity of this faith.

A concise summary of his economic programme is found in his *Outline of National Reconstruction*. It contains these :

(1) The government must provide for the four basic needs of the people : namely, food, clothing, housing and locomotion.

(2) Each hsien (county) government, inaugurating self-government, must first determine the value of all privately owned land within its jurisdiction. The owners shall themselves report the land value, and the government shall assess taxes on the basis of the declared value. All subsequent rise in land value due to political improvement and social progress shall be considered as the public property of the people. (Note the influence of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*.)

(3) All "unearned increment" of land value, all products of public domain, all yield from the natural resources of the nation (such as mines, water-power, and forests), shall be the public property of the local governments, and shall be used for public enterprises and for public benefit.

(4) When a local government is incapable of undertaking alone the developing of its natural resources, industries, or commercial enterprises, the central government shall give aid to secure the needed capital.

(5) A plank not included in the *Outline* but often discussed in his lectures is the idea of "regulation of capital". Dr. Sun never advocated the abolition

of private enterprise or private capital. But capital must be subject to the proper regulation of the government in the interest of the people.

Throughout his whole life, Dr. Sun was essentially under the influence of the political thinking and political institutions of the Anglo-Saxon nations. The democratic ideas and practices of Switzerland and France also had great influence on him.

But he was always interested in two political institutions developed by the Chinese people throughout the ages. The first is the competitive examination system for the civil service. This he wished to preserve in a modernised form. The other is the system of censorial control over the government. This was a peculiarly Chinese institution by which the Chinese government created its own check and opposition, and which empowered a special branch of the government to censure and impeach the government, not excepting the Emperor himself and his family. This institution Dr. Sun also wished to preserve in his new constitution.

Therefore, Dr. Sun works out what he calls the five-power constitution, the five being executive, legislative, judiciary, examinational, and censorial control.

The examinational power means placing all civil service under the merit system. The power of censorial control means taking out of the traditional parliament those semi-judicial powers of interrogation, inquiry, public investigation and hearing, and impeachment, and making them into a separate and independent power of the government. It should also include the checking and auditing of all governmental accounts.

Dr. Sun had no use for the negative or *laissez-faire* theory of government. He wanted a government with tremendous powers to do big things for the nation and the people. He said that the fear of a powerful and effective government was due to a fundamental defect in political thinking—a lack of confidence in the power of the people to control a government when it becomes too powerful. This defect can be remedied by a proper conception of the difference between political sovereignty and administrative capability or efficiency. The government must have administrative capability to do things, but the people should have the sovereign power to control it. It is foolish to assert popular sovereignty at the expense of administrative capability. The objective of democratic control of the government, therefore, should not be to paralyse administrative effectiveness, but only to safeguard the people against possible abuse of power by the government.

Dr. Sun thinks that the safeguard lies in extending the political powers of the people. The people must have four political powers: (1) the power of voting at the elections; (2) the power of recall (that is, recall of elected officers); (3) the power of initiative (that is, of initiating legislation); (4) the power of referendum (that is, having legislation referred back to the people). These institutions of "direct democracy" have been taken by Dr. Sun from Switzerland and such north-western states of the U.S.A. as Oregon. Dr. Sun was confident that the full exercise of these four powers by the people in a constitutional democracy will insure against the danger of any government becoming too powerful for the safety and well-being of the people.

The tragic experiences of the early years of the Republic had modified the early optimistic enthusiasm of the Father of the Chinese Revolution and led him to work out his theory of the "Three Stages of National Reconstruction". The three stages are : (1) the military or revolutionary stage ; (2) the tutelage or guardianship stage ; and (3) the constitutional stage.

Any province which is fully unified and pacified shall immediately inaugurate its second stage of political tutelage. During the tutelage period the government should dispatch trained and selected officials to assist the localities in achieving self-government. When a county has completed its population census, its land survey, its road-building programme, and when the people of the county have been sufficiently trained in the exercise of their four-fold political powers, such a county shall be declared to have attained the status of self-government, and shall henceforth elect its own executive and legislative officers.

Any province wherein all the counties have attained self-government shall inaugurate its constitutional government. When more than half of the total number of provinces have attained self-government, there shall be called the national assembly, which shall decide upon a national constitution and proclaim it. Hereafter, the people shall hold the national election in accordance with the constitution. The provisional national government shall resign three months after the completion of the elections and transfer the administration to the popularly elected government.

The real enemies of the revolution and national reconstruction, says Dr. Sun, are psychological and philosophical. Experience had taught him that the greatest obstacle to a successful revolution in China was to be found in the proverbial philosophy of the Chinese people which holds that "to know is easy, but to act is difficult". Dr. Sun maintains that it is this traditional philosophy which has paralysed action and retarded progress.

To counteract this psychological defeatism, Dr. Sun proposes his own philosophy of life and action : "To know is difficult, but to act is easy." This apparently paradoxical dictum he tries to establish in his book, *The Philosophy of Sun Wen*.

He cites ten groups of facts as proofs of his philosophy. To eat, for example, is easy ; yet how many persons can claim to know all the scientific facts concerning the physiology of feeding and digestion and the chemistry of nutrition and dietetics ? Does this lack of knowledge ever deter any one from the simple and necessary act of eating ?

Similarly, it is exceedingly easy for everybody to spend money, but it is very difficult indeed even for the trained social scientist to grasp the subtleties and mysteries of that wonderful branch of knowledge called economics.

His other proofs include house-building, ship-building, electricity, and such early chemical industries as the making of soya-bean curd and the manufacture of porcelain. In all these, he points out that action often comes before knowledge and sometimes even without knowledge ; that the task of knowing is necessarily confined to the few—the architect who plans the skyscraper or designs the ocean liner, or the inventor of the telephone or the wireless telegraphy, or the chemist who analyses the bean curd and theorises about its nutritional

value ; and that, for the vast majority of people, action even in such difficult matters as modern ship-building is possible and easy if they will only follow the blueprints worked out by those who know.

All action becomes impossible only when people are frightened by the defeatist preachings of the false prophets "who fear what they ought not to fear, and who fear not what they ought to fear". They teach that knowledge is easy whereas it is, in fact, not easy. And they fear that action is difficult whereas it is not difficult at all.

Dr. Sun's philosophy of action, therefore, teaches "that most men can act even without knowledge, that they surely can act with the aid of knowledge, and that they will act better with the increasing knowledge which comes from the experience of action". Follow leadership, and respect those who know. But do not let your adoration of knowledge deter you from the courage to act !

THE REPUBLIC TO-DAY

With so formidable a task on its hands as the education of a citizenry 400,000,000 strong in elementary studies, as well as in the principles of democracy, the Chinese Government of the middle twenties was ill-equipped to deal with other crises such as soon began to arise. Japan had, from the beginning of the Republic, been busy suborning officers in different quarters to serve as her quislings when the time for action had arrived. When the full story of Japanese intrigue in China can be told it will appal the world. Vast treasure has been poured out and no trick has been spurned to bring about the downfall of this renaissance China which might in a few years be strong enough to put an end to all Japan's grandiose schemes of world-dominion.

Blind as the Western Powers were, the Chinese knew what was impending. More than once they warned Europe and the U.S.A. of what was being plotted, but the warning was unheeded. Japan grew bolder : the West was obviously not greatly concerned with what was happening so far away, and memories of the holocaust of 1914-18 were still strong enough to make war sound revolting to people who had put out their victory flags a few years before, and then gone mad with relief and self-indulgence now that the war was gone for ever.

But the Chinese knew better. They saw the insidious menace grow year by year. They saw bandit war-lords equipped and financed by Japan to prolong the internal conflict and halt the unification and development of the new China. Should the Republic come to full stature and show forth the worth of its new leaders, the Japanese plans would never succeed. So Japan was forced to strike her first blow.

A successor to Sun Yat-sen was found in Chiang Kai-shek, a man in many ways as great a puzzle as Sun himself. A Chinese of the Chinese with no pretensions to foreign scholarship, he has shown outstanding military and statesmanlike qualities while preserving the natural simplicity of his rustic birthplace. His greatest value to his country, apart from his undeviating firmness of character, is his first-hand knowledge of the Japanese.

The Generalissimo took over command of the revolutionary army and of the Kuomintang, or National Party, at a time of great strain and internal

chaos. He had to attempt to clear up several inconclusive civil wars (mostly Japanese inspired) and when, in 1931, the Japanese created a pretext to seize Manchuria he was too heavily engaged elsewhere to attempt effective resistance. In any event, with the simple faith of a soldier, the Generalissimo felt that he could rely on the League of Nations or, at least, the interested Western Powers to deal with this flagrant breach of faith. The failure of the League and the "strong" Powers of the West to intervene, was the beginning of Chinese disillusion.

Chiang Kai-shek now knew two things: he must organise the whole resources of his country against external aggression, and he must depend largely, if not entirely, on himself and his country. Compulsory military service, which had been a dead letter since the Sung period, was reintroduced and the people were made aware of the danger in which the nation stood. The three stages of Chinese democratic development were explained to the nation at large and each student was made a political ambassador wherever he might go.

In July, 1937, the Japanese decided to put things to the test. An "incident" was staged, so carelessly that not even Japan's friends could swallow it, and the engulfing of China, which was to occupy but a few months, began. By now the Japanese were so confident that they no longer tried to hide from the world that the "China incident" was the first step in a programme for the domination of Asia. Like the Nazis of the West they coined euphonious phrases to "explain" those curious misconceptions which occasionally found their way into the Western Press. The Far East was to be an "East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere", but it soon became obvious where the prosperity would lie. The ingenuous Japanese even tried to persuade the Chinese that their bombs brought them release from the wicked tyranny of their own rulers!

Before the "incident" was many days old Chiang Kai-shek took a momentous decision. He decided to fight it out this time. The Japanese, who looked for a victory as cheap as that they had enjoyed in the rape of Manchuria, were to learn the bitter lesson that the best-laid plans of an aggressive High Command can be wrecked even by unarmed citizens who have the will to resist. China was beginning to show her political consciousness. Her confidence in the justice of her cause, her stout-hearted leadership, her age-old love of freedom and innate sense of fair play, all combined to give her a spiritual and moral strength against the superior material weapons of her enemy.

The "China Incident", which in Japan's scheme of things was to have been closed, victoriously, by the end of 1937 (or at any rate early in 1938), became a full-scale war. Moreover, the stupidity of Japanese leadership ranged beside the first victim of Axis aggression the most powerful forces for freedom in the world. There could be but one outcome and China will, once again, rise triumphantly to the lofty heights she has so often held before. The Chinese still have much to give to the world and the world stands in need of the gift.

(For political developments since the war see Section III—Kuomintang.)

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Section II

GEOGRAPHY

PROVINCES OF CHINA

There are now thirty-six provinces, as listed below. In addition, the following have been made municipalities for special administration : Nanking, Chungking, Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin, Dairen, Harbin and Tsingtao.

There is also the special area of Tibet.

Anhwei	Kirin
Antung	Kwangsi
Chahar	Kwangtung
Chekiang	Kweichow
Chinghai	Liaoning
Fukien	Liaopei
Hainan	Ningsia
Heilungkiang	Nunkiang
Hokiang	Shansi
Honan	Shantung
Hopei	Shensi
Hsingan	Sikang
Hunan	Sinkiang
Hupei	Suiyuan
Jehol	Sungkiang
Kansu	Szechwan
Kiangsi	Taiwan (Formosa)
Kiangsu	Yunnan

Section II

GEOGRAPHY

THE TERRITORY NOW KNOWN AS THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA IS A CONTINENTAL LAND mass lying between Lat. 52° 52' 30" N. (the northernmost tip of the North-Eastern Province) and 15° 16' N. (the Paracels in the South China Sea, south-east of Hainan Island) and from Long. 73° 31' E. to 135° 2' 30" E.

Before the Republic China was divided into 18 provinces. With the establishment of Republican China the various provinces were re-organised and with the definition of boundaries and the re-naming of some other territories the number was 30, with two special areas, Mongolia and Tibet. Since the end of the second world war and the recovery of the north-eastern provinces (commonly, but erroneously, called Manchuria), a new division has been made and the three north-eastern provinces have been subdivided to make nine. Heilungkiang, Kirin and Liaoning have all become smaller, and six additional provinces, Antung, Liaopei, Sungkiang, Hokiang, Nunkiang and Hsingan, have been formed to facilitate administration and industrial development.

There are, therefore, now 36 provinces. In addition, the following have been made municipalities for special administration : Nanking, Chungking, Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin, Dairen, Harbin, Tsingtao. Further, there is the territory of Tibet (Outer Mongolia has elected for independence as a Republic and is thus no longer part of China), and the special administrative area of Taiwan (Formosa), recovered from the Japanese after the war.

The Chinese Republic has an overall area of 3,406,488 sq. miles and the area of Tibet is 469,294 sq. miles ; that is to say, the area of China is about 35 times that of the United Kingdom. The population of China is 480,949,972 and that of Tibet 3,722,011.

The northern frontier of China is the boundary line between Korea, Outer Mongolia and Asiatic U.S.S.R. and the Chinese provinces to the south. On the west lie Russian Turkestan, Afghanistan and India, on the south Burma and Indo-China, and the Pacific Ocean washes its eastern coasts.

The coastline of China, 5,400 miles in length, extends from the mouth of the Yalu River, in Liaoning, to Tunghing, in south-western Kwangtung. The northern part of this immense coastline (north of Hangchow Bay) is alluvial in nature, except for the Liaotung and Shantung Peninsulas. The southern part is mainly granitic. Along the two northern peninsulas and off the southern coast there are innumerable islands, harbours and inlets. Shoals fringe the northern coasts and navigation depends on river channels.

A chain of volcanic islands (the Kuriles, Japan, Luchu Islands, Formosa and the Philippines) separates the China Seas from the Western Pacific. The China Seas are : the Yellow Sea (including the gulfs of Chihli and Liaoning) : the East China Sea (from the estuary of the Yangtze River to the Straits of

Formosa) and the South China Sea (south of the Straits of Formosa). The depth of the various China Seas varies from 102 metres—74 fathoms—(Gulf of Chihli) to 260 metres—187 fathoms—(round Hainan Island).

TOPOGRAPHY

Within the boundaries of China are found numerous and varied physiographic features which include almost every known type of topographic expression. Mountains occupy 30 per cent. of the national area, plateaux 34 per cent., hilly regions 9 per cent., basins 16 per cent., and alluvial plains 10 per cent.

Chinese mountain systems may be said to start from the Pamir Plateau with a general tendency eastward. They fall into five principal chains :—

1. The Altai range, forming the boundary mountains between China and the U.S.S.R.
2. The Tianshan range, across the northern part of Sinkiang.
3. The Kunlun range, which is again divided into several branches spreading out into Chinese provinces.
4. The Trans-Himalaya range.
5. The Himalaya range.

Geologically the northern Chinese mountains were formed mostly by faulting and the southern mountains by folding.

Topographically China can be divided into 19 natural districts :—

Tibetan Plateau.—This is a mass of folding mountains with an average height of 16,500 feet. To the north is the Kunlun range and to the south the Himalayas and to the east the Transverse Mountains in Yunnan and Sikang.

The Sungaria and Tarim Basins.—The Tianshan range cuts Sinkiang province into two basins, with Sungaria on its north and the Tarim on its south.

The Mongolian Steppe.—This connects the Sinkiang basins to the west, bordered by the Yingshan range on the south, the Hsingan highland on the east, and Outer Mongolia on the north.

The North-Eastern Plain.—South of the Hsingan highland, this plain includes the Sungari and Liao River valleys.

The Liaoning and Kirin Hills.—These lie south-east of the north-eastern plain and east of Harbin and Mukden.

The Shantung Peninsula.—This lies south of the Gulf of Chihli.

The North China Plain.—This includes the area east of the Taihangshan and north of the Hwaiyang mountains and the lower sections of the Yellow and Hwai Rivers.

The Shansi Plateau.—This is west of the Taihangshan range and east of the Luliangshan, including the Fêng River basin.



TIBETAN PLATEAU.



SZETCHUAN BASIN.



NORTH CHINA PLAIN.

(Photo by Hedda Morrison.)

The Shensi Basin.—This lies west of the Luliangshan and east of Kansu, including the Hotao (Yellow River bend) and the Wei River basin.

The Kansu Corridor.—This is situated west of the Liupangshan, north of the Chilianshan, south of the Ningsia Desert, and connects with the Shensi Basin on the east.

The Lower Yangtze.—The area between the Hwaiyang mountains and Hangchow Bay.

The South-Eastern Hills.—This comprises the coastal provinces of Chekiang and Fukien with the Wuyishan as its northern extreme.

The Central Yangtze Basin.—This covers the area between the Chinlin and the Nanlin ranges, including Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi and southern Anhwei.

The Szechwan Basin.—This is bordered on the north by the Tapahshan and Chinlin ranges, with the Sikang mountains on the west. Taliangshan is on the south-west and Taloushan on the south-east.

The Kweichow Plateau.—This lies to the south of the Szechwan Basin, including the whole of Kweichow province.

The Kwangsi Tableland.—This includes the whole of Kwangsi province.

The South-Western Mountains.—This includes Yunnan province.

The Sikang Mountains.—This comprises the whole of Sikang province.

There are five "sacred" mountains in China. It was the custom in early times for the Emperor to ascend these mountains for the purpose of offering sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. These mountains are :—

Taishan in Shantung.
Hwashan in Shensi.
Sungshan in Honan.
Hengshan in Shansi.
Hengshan in Hunan.

In addition to these, the Buddhists have three sacred mountains, which are :—

Wutaishan in Shansi.
Omeishan in Szechwan.
Pootoo Island off Chekiang Coast.

The Taoists have selected one peak as their sacred mountain—Lunghushan in Kiangsi.

HYDROGRAPHY

Three large rivers drain the three natural divisions of China—the Yellow River in North China, the Yangtze River in Central China, and the West River (or Pearl River) in South China.

THE YELLOW RIVER

The Yellow River (*Machu* to the Tibetans and *Karamuren* to the Mongols) derives its name from the heavy yellow silt it carries along. It is colloquially referred to as "China's Sorrow," because of its frequent, disastrous overflows, with the consequent heavy loss of life. It has changed its channel several times during recorded history, again bringing great destruction of property and loss of life in its train. The last great change was in 1854, when the river left its old course through northern Kiangsu and emptied itself instead into the Gulf of Chihli through northern Shantung, some three hundred miles to the north.

The river is 4,672 kilometres (2,600 miles) in length, and it drains 531,200 square kilometres of territory. Its source is in the Khotun Lake in the 16,000 feet high Bayenkala Range. It passes through a number of other lakes in its upper course and issues in two great bends, the first round the Amnemachen Mountains and the second round the Sichingshan Range. The height of the river falls to 7,000 feet where it enters Kansu province.

In Kansu, the Yellow River makes headway with great difficulty, following a circuitous route through the prolongation of the Kunlun Range. It receives in this part of its course the 200 mile long Huang River from Chinghai and the 200 mile long Tao River from southern Kansu.

Leaving Kansu, the river flows along the Alashan Range in Ningsia, after being forced by the Ordos Grassland to take a northward bend. Here the river-bed has an altitude of about 3,000 feet and its water is used to irrigate the fertile Ningsia Valley through numerous canals, some dating back to the second century B.C. Afterwards it is forced to turn eastward by the Yingshan Range in Suiyuan, and then southward by the Shansi Hills. In this section the river is reinforced by the Wutingho and Yensuiho (*ho* means "river"), each about 200 miles long.

The river then cuts its way through the mountains on the Shensi-Shansi border in torrents and rapids. The Hukow Rapids have a gradual fall of 900 feet, and are capable of creating 226,000 horse-power at the lowest estimated flow of 500 cubic metres per second. At Tungkwan the river is forced to the east by the Chinlin Range. It receives the 430 miles long Fen River from Shansi and the 540 miles long Wei River (fed by the 300 mile Ching River and the 360 miles long Lo River) from Shensi, before dropping from 1,200 feet above sea level Tungkwan to the 150-300 feet North China Plain. In western Honan the Lo River (which is fed by the Yi River) and the Sin River are added as the Yellow River rushes eastward to the Yellow Sea.

THE YANGTZE RIVER

The Yangtze River forms the main artery of trade and communications in Central China. The 5,530-kilometre (3,400-mile) river passes through Chinghai, Sikang, Yunnan, Szechwan, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anhwei and Kiangsu. It is generally known as the "Takiang" (the Great River) or simply "The River" among the Chinese.

The river springs from the Tagh-Ulan Mountain on the Chinghai-Tibet-Sinkiang border, and flows in a south-easterly direction to the south of the

Bayenkala Mountains, which separate it from the Yellow River. It is known as the "Ulan-Muran" among the Tibetans. At the town of Sogon-Gomba, the river-bed is at an altitude of 16,000 feet. Flowing in a generally southern direction through the Sikang Mountains, it is known locally as the "Chingsha" (Gold Sand) River. The Yalung River (fed by the Anning River) empties into it on the Sikang-Yunnan border. The Yunnan Mountains force the river to turn to the north-east at Chingshakiang and then to the east at Ipin in Szechwan, where it receives the Min River (which is fed by the Chingyi River and the Tatu River). It meets the Tou River at Luhsien and the Chialing River, with tributaries, at Chungking, and the Wu River at Fouling in Szechwan, where it is known as the "Chwankiang" (Szechwan River); the Li River; the Yuan River, with tributaries; the Tze River; the Hsiang River from Hunan; the Han River in Hupeh; and the Kan River in Kiangsi. The river is known as the "Changkiang" (Long River) in this section. After Chingkiang in Kiangsu, it is locally known as the "Yangtzekiang", the Yangtze River (*Kiang* is another word for "river").

At Batang, in Sikang, the river-bed is 16,000 feet above sea level. It drops steadily to 1,000 feet at Ipin. The river is only 300 feet in altitude at Ichang, where the Yangtze Gorges end. It is navigable for junks to the border of Szechwan-Sikang-Yunnan and for steamers to Ipin.

THE WEST RIVER

The West River basin is the smallest of the three areas. The 1,285 miles long river drains 431,600 square kilometres in Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi and Kwangtung. It begins from Hsuanwei in northern Yunnan and flows to the south until it turns north-easterly at Chiehhsiangtu on the Kweichow-Kwangsi border and is known as the "Hung" (Red) River. On leaving the Kweichow border, it takes a south-easterly direction and flows through Kwangsi to Wuchow on the Kwangsi-Kwangtung border. It is known as the "West River" upon entering Kwangtung province. At Samshui (Sansui), in central Kwangtung, the river turns south and, throwing off an arm (Canton River), on which stands the port of Canton, enters the South China Sea. It has seven main tributaries, including the Peipang River on the Kweichow-Kwangsi border; the Lui River, the Yu River and the Kwei River in Kwangsi; the Ho River, the North River (which is fed by the Huang River and the Sui River) and the East River in Kwangtung.

The main part of the West River, with its tributaries, passes through a mountainous region, only the last 100 miles falling within the delta area. The river is navigable by steamers up to Wuchow, beyond which junks and steam launches reach Kweichow and interior Kwangsi, as well as the upper reaches of the North and East Rivers.

OTHER RIVERS

The North-Eastern Group.—The north-eastern provinces have four major rivers. The most important is the Amur River, which forms the boundary line between China and the U.S.S.R. along the province of Heilungkiang, which is also the Chinese name for the river. It springs from five mountain creeks in the Kentai Mountains in Mongolia, where it is locally known as the Keruen River. It first follows a generally eastern direction and turns northward after entering the Kulun-Nor on the western Heilungkiang steppe, forming the

boundary between the U.S.S.R. and China, and turns eastward again after passing Yingmu. Across Lokuho the river takes in the Shilka River. It turns in a generally southern direction at Oupu and receives the Zeya River across Heiho, after which it flows towards the south-east, turning east at Lupei before taking in the Sungari River at Tungkiang and the Ussuri River near Fuyuan. It then turns north into Soviet territory before emptying into the Sea of Okhotsk.

The Liao River rises from the Peichashan in western Jehol and flows eastward into Liaoning and then flows in a south-westerly direction from Tiehlin before emptying itself into the Gulf of Chihli at Yingkow. It is 900 miles long and drains 176,000 square kilometres in Jehol and Liaoning.

The Yalu River and the Tumen River constitute the natural boundary between China and Korea. Both rivers begin from the Changpaishan Range. The Yalu River flows in a south-westerly direction and empties into the Yellow Sea; the Tumen flows in an easterly direction into the Japan Sea. They drain a total area of 68,000 square kilometres in Liaoning and Kirin.

The Coastal Group.—A number of shorter independent rivers are found in the coastal provinces. Beginning from the north, the first major coastal river is the Luan. The projected Northern Great Port planned by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Nation, would be at its mouth. It rises east of Kuyuan, in Chahar, skirts the Dolon-Nor and flows in a south-easterly direction for 510 miles to the Gulf of Chihli at Luanhsien, in Hopei. It drains 49,800 square kilometres in Jehol and Hopei.

The Pei River, on which the northern port of Tientsin stands, drains 182,600 square kilometres in Jehol, Chahar, Shansi, Honan, Shantung and Hopei. Of its five headwaters, the most important is the Hutu River, which springs from the Taihangshan Range on the Shansi-Hopei border. The river is over 500 miles long.

The Hwai River is 625 miles long and drains 200,000 square kilometres of Honan, Anhwei and Kiangsu territory. It originates from the Tungpaishan, in southern Honan, and flows eastward into the Hungtseh Lake, from which it follows a new canal, completed on the eve of the war, to the East China Sea.

The Chientang River begins in southern Anhwei and flows eastward to the East China Sea. It is 290 miles long and drains 54,800 square kilometres of Anhwei and Chekiang territory. The northern bank of Hangchow Bay, estuary of the river, is the projected site of the Eastern Great Port planned by Dr. Sun.

The Min River springs from the mountains in western Fukien and enters the East China Sea after passing Foochow. It is 360 miles long and drains 73,000 square kilometres of Fukien territory.

The South-Western Group.—Most south-western rivers begin from China but empty into the Pacific or the Indian Oceans through foreign countries. The first is the Red River, which begins west of Hsiangyun, in Yunnan, and enters Indo-China at Hokow. It then continues in a south-easterly direction until it flows into Tonkin Bay. The section within China is 725 miles long and drains 76,400 square kilometres of Yunnan territory.

The Salween River rises on the eastern Tibet mountains and is known locally as the "Chiama Ngu" (its three headwaters are named "Nahchu,"

“Shagchu,” and “Suchu”). It rushes southward from Sikang and Yunnan amidst the Transverse Mountains and through Burma into the Gulf of Martaban. Its Chinese section is 1,265 miles long and drains 86,300 square kilometres of Sikang and Yunnan territory.

The Mekong River originates in the south-western Chinghai Mountains and is known as the “Dzachu”. It flows southward in rapid torrents through Sikang and Yunnan to Indo-China and empties into the South China Sea. The Chinese section of the river is nearly 1,300 miles long and drains 116,200 square kilometres of Sikang and Yunnan territory.

The Sanpu (Brahmaputra) River starts at the glacier of the Kubi Grangri and flows in an easterly direction through Tibet and western Sikang, turning south before entering India. The Chinese section is 1,200 miles long and drains 295,500 square kilometres of Tibetan and Sikang territory.

The Inland River Group.—Inland rivers are found in Sinkiang, Mongolia, Chinghai, Ningsia, Tibet, Chahar, and Suiyuan, the larger ones being in Sinkiang, Ningsia, and Chinghai. The Tarim River heads the list with a length of 1,310 miles, draining 398,400 square kilometres in southern Sinkiang. Springing from the southern Sinkiang Mountains, it runs in a foaming torrent till it leaves the mountains a short distance south-west of Yarkhand. After reaching the plain below, the current becomes less impetuous. It skirts the north of the Taklamakan Desert, reaches the Kara-Koshum Lake by following an easterly direction, then empties into the Lop-Nor. The Tarim continually changes its position along with the lakes near its mouth. These variations are due to the low level of the region and to the drifting sands which are heaped up by the east wind.

The Edsingol River is the principal river north of the Chilienshan Range in western Kansu. Being an inland river, it resembles the Tarim River in constantly changing both the course and the volume of its flow. It races from the Chilienshan Mountains in a northerly direction through the Black Gobi to the Sogo-Nor and Gashun-Nor in western Ningsia. This river is known in Chinese history as the Weak River (*Jo-shui*).

The Grand Canal.—The Grand Canal is the oldest and longest canal in existence, extending from Peiping to Hangchow, covering a distance of 1,290 miles, draining 159,400 square kilometres in Chekiang, Kiangsu, Shantung and Hopei. It crosses the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers. For many centuries it was the main artery of communication between the north and the south, being the transportation route for the Chinese government's tariff (in the form of rice) and other private commodities. The canal was built in sections and enlarged from time to time. It was begun in 540 B.C. between the Hwai River and the Yangtze. In A.D. 610 it was extended southwards to Hangchow. During the Yuan Dynasty, by the use of the Wen River in Shantung, it was (by 1320) extended northwards to Peiping.

LAKES

The principal lakes in China are :—

Tungting Lake in Hunan. Known as the largest natural reservoir of the Yangtze, it reaches 75 miles in length and 55 miles in width in summer, covering an area of 5,200 square kilometres. It is much smaller in winter.

Poyang Lake in Kiangsi. Approximately 85 miles long and 20 miles wide in summer, it covers an area of 4,700 square kilometres.

Tai Lake, or Great Lake, in southern Kiangsu. Its greatest dimensions are approximately 50 miles by 40 miles in summer months.

Hungtseh Lake in northern Kiangsu and Anhwei. It receives the Hwai River and connects with the Grand Canal.

Tien Lake in Yunnan, adjacent to Kunming, is approximately 38 miles long and 10 miles wide and is at an altitude of 5,670 feet.

Erhhai Lake in western Yunnan. It is smaller than Tien Lake, and lies 4,700 feet above sea level.

Koko-Nor, in north-eastern Chinghai, the largest of the Chinese salt lakes, is fed by 72 rivers. It is 66 miles wide and 40 miles long, with an area of 4,500 square kilometres and a circumference of 350 kilometres. It is at an altitude of approximately 10,000 feet. The lake gives the province the name Chinghai, meaning the Blue Sea, *Koko-Nor* being the Mongolian equivalent.

Lop-Nor, in eastern Sinkiang, on the northern slope of the Altin Tagh Range, was formerly an immense expanse of water, but has now shrunk considerably. Because of the drifting sand in that region, the lake moves gradually to the south. It was a salt inland sea in centuries past, but has since changed into a fresh-water lake, evidently having some underground outlet through the desert. Buried in the sand around it are a number of cities of historical significance.

Minor north-eastern lakes include Hulung-Nor and Bor-Nor, on the steppe of western Heilungkiang, and Hsinkai Lake, in eastern Kirin, on the border of China and the U.S.S.R.

A number of high-altitude inland salt lakes are also found in Mongolia, Sinkiang, Tibet, Chinghai, Ningsia, Suiyuan, Chahar and Jehol.

GENERAL

So much for the general outline of Chinese geographical features. The great Chinese land-mass is seen as a gentle slope towards the south-east from a lofty north-western, western and south-western group of mountains, long called the "Roof of the World".

The Burma-Yunnan country is mountainous, fever-ridden and difficult by reason of the dense tropical growth which spreads rapidly over once-cleared territory if it is left undisturbed for any length of time. There are few roads and even the tracks are narrow and precipitous, largely owing to the difficulty of clearing age-long jungle and establishing permanent roads. The monsoon makes conditions well-nigh intolerable for some three or four summer months, although current scientific opinion in China inclines to the belief that much of the rain and humidity of the country generally is either orographic or cyclonic in origin, due to continental depressions, typhoons or heat thunderstorms. But so far as south-west China is concerned there can be no doubt that the

incidence of the S.W. monsoon in the months of June, July, August and September greatly increases the precipitation of rain, the discomfort due to humidity and the intense thickness of cloud.

Northward from the Burma-Yunnan country stretch mountainous areas forming part of the provinces of Kweichow, Sikang, Szechwan, Chinghai, Kansu, Shensi and Ningsia. These areas are not densely populated, most of the population living on the plateaux, in the valleys and on the lowlands along the course of the rivers. The climate in these areas is mostly drier and more invigorating, though subject to extremes of temperature—not only at seasonal periods of change, but as between night and day temperatures within the same season. Generally speaking, the summer is hot and dry and the winter very cold and dry. Spring and autumn are of short duration, there being very short periods of transition between the two main extremes. There are wide areas under cultivation in some of the provinces, but much of the terrain is unsuitable for crops, being loess or shifting sand (the carrying of which along most of its course gives the Hwang Ho its name, “Yellow River”).

Some parts of this area have, under stress of war, become the new centre of Chinese industrial activity. Large areas in Szechwan have been cleared for factories transported bodily from eastern and central provinces as the Japanese advanced along the railways and rivers of pre-war industrial districts.

Northward lie Inner and Outer Mongolia and the Asiatic territories of the U.S.S.R. and to the east and north-east are the provinces of Shansi, Hopei, Chahar, Jehol, Tsitsihar, Heilungkiang, Kirin, Fengtien and the peninsula province of Shantung. Across the Yellow Sea from this last is the country of Korea.

The eastern seaboard of China is of the greatest importance. From early times the Japanese have engaged in raiding forays against this prosperous coastline and in the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644) their pirates were particularly troublesome. Before the war the provinces southward from Shantung (viz., Kiangsu, Honan, Anhwei, Hupeh, Hunan, Kiangsi, Chekiang, Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi) held the great industrial centres of China, most of the best arable land and by far the greatest proportion of her material resources. These provinces were also as a consequence the most densely populated, and until the coming of Chinese Commercial Airways, all the best means of transport were in this area. Railways and roads of any importance were mostly lacking in the other provinces. This is still mainly true, but communications are rapidly being developed in most areas.

True to its general configuration, China forms throughout these eastern provinces a south-eastward sloping descent from hill to plain and thence to coastline. With the exception of Shantung province, which is generally hilly throughout, the hills and mountains tend throughout these other provinces to bisect the territories like a backbone. In most cases, therefore, the approach from the sea is upon a gently rising shore to a level plain which continues for some miles inland (in some cases 300 or more miles) before the hill system begins.

DENSITY OF POPULATION

Another feature of the east coastline is the density of population. Whereas in western and north-western China the stranger may find himself in a sparsely

populated district where he will need to travel for miles without coming upon settled communities, he is unlikely in the coastal districts to be very far from the haunts of men wherever he may land.

The relative density of population may be seen from the following table :—

(i) Sparsely populated large areas :—

	<i>Area</i>	<i>Population</i>
Sikang	170,828 sq. miles	1,755,542
Chinghai... ..	282,882 „	1,512,823
Suiyuan	139,012 „	2,083,693

(ii) Densely populated smaller provinces :—

Chekiang	40,900 sq. miles	21,776,054
Kwangtung	89,002 „	32,338,795
Fukien	47,502 „	11,990,441
Shantung	60,080 „	38,099,741
Kiangsu	63,610 „	36,469,321

Another point to remember is the nature of the territory immediately inland from the seashore. Most of the seaports along this coast are large towns or cities extending over wide areas, cut by waterways (river mouths or canals). Inland, in the north, are grain fields : in the centre and south, tea and rice fields are common.

These lands are very fertile—in some areas, well-watered and intensively cultivated, several crops a year are collected from the soil. A wide variety of fruits and vegetables is available ; many of these have only Chinese names as they are not known outside China. Others, such as persimmons, mandarin oranges, apricots, and many varieties of plum are found in abundance in most provinces, together with fruits not known in Europe. Many vegetables may be eaten uncooked, and are very sustaining.

Some indication of the indentation of this coastline may be gained from the fact that its length is usually given in textbooks as “ some 2,200 miles or, counting all inlet coasts and creek shores, between 4,500 and 5,000 miles ”. This gives a proportion of area : coast of 300 miles : one mile.

A glance at the map will show that this coastline takes roughly the form of a semi-circle with the most prominent point in the province of Chekiang. It is washed by subdivisions of the Pacific Ocean, known by the following names :

- (a) Hwang Hai, or Yellow Sea, between the western coast of Korea and the China coast from the Miao-tao group to the mouth of the Yangtze.
- (b) Tung Hai, or East China Sea, to the south of the Yellow Sea, i.e., from the mouth of the Yangtze to the mouth of the Min River in Fukien.
- (c) The Formosa Channel, south of (b), where a strong current runs, dangerous to shipping at certain periods. This extends from the mouth of the Min River to the mouth of the Han River.

- (d) Nan Hai, or South China Sea, to the south of (c), between the coast of China and the Philippines, Borneo, the Malacca Peninsula and Indo-China.

Typically, the coast of China is either alluvial or granitic. If alluvial, it shows straight lines or regular curves. This type shows the neighbouring country to be flat and covered with marshes, creeks or lakes. The sea offshore is shallow and interspersed with shoals; there are few good harbours for steamships, but junks of light draught and landing craft can get inshore.

The granitic coastline offers an uninterrupted series of indentations and the coastal region is hilly, the sea offshore fairly deep and almost free from shoals. Instead of shoals one finds numerous islands, large and small, which usually serve as deep and well-sheltered havens for ships. This is the more important as, where the inland mountain-chains run parallel with the coast, there are usually strong sea-currents offshore which prove dangerous at various seasons—particularly at the equinoxes.

The division of the coastline is, then :—

Alluvial : Fukien (part), Kwangtung, Hopei (formerly Chihli).

Granitic : Shantung, Fukien (part), Chekiang, Kiangsu.

The N.E. monsoon blows in the China Sea during the winter and the S.W. monsoon during the summer. This is usual, but in various parts of the China Sea there are daily as well as annual variations from this rule.

CHINA BY PROVINCES

We present, in conclusion, a bird's-eye view of the provinces of China. For convenience of reference these are listed alphabetically. Hainan, hitherto always treated as part of Kwangtung province for administrative purposes, is not in this list, as some time must elapse before details are available of this island as a new province.

Anhwei.—A central province divided by the Yangtze River. Area : 87,929 square miles. Population : 22,705,000. Contains 62 counties, with Hwaining (Anking) as its capital. Running through the province is the Tientsin-Pukow railway and two short railways, the Hwainan (Tingkiangan-Yukikow) and the Kiangnan (Nanking-Sunkiapu) lines. Important cities are the three river ports of Anking, Wuhu and Tatung, and Pengpu and Hofei. Anhwei is a leading rice-producing province, and Wuhu is one of China's four largest rice-marketing centres. Pengpu is a marketing centre on the main railway. Hofei, in the north, is an important highway junction. Other products include tea, rice, paper and timber.

Antung.—One of China's nine north-eastern provinces. Area : 69,200 square miles. Population : 5,340,000. Contains 15 counties, with Antung as its capital. Antung is bordered by the provinces of Liaoning and Liaopei on the west, Kirin on the north, and the state of Korea on the east. Main railway is the Antung-Mukden railway. The southern section of the Changpai Mountains comes within its borders and consequently Antung is becoming an important centre of the timber industry. The highlands have a fine climate and in the lowlands wheat, kaoliang and soya beans flourish.

Chahar.—One of the provinces of Inner Mongolia. Area : 174,348 square miles. Population : 2,034,000. Contains 16 counties and three administrative bureaux, with Wanchuan (Kalgan) as its capital. The Peiping-Suiyuan railway runs through the southern part of the province. Chahar produces fine blood stock and sheep's wool. Important cities are Kalgan, and the market towns of Suanhwa and Tolun, through which pass the camel caravans from the Gobi. Chahar, beyond the Great Wall, is mostly inhabited by Mongolian banners (clans). Agriculture is being gradually developed under a scheme recently initiated by the Central Government.

Chekiang.—An eastern seaboard province. Area : 63,898 square miles. Population : 21,776,000. Contains 176 counties, with Hangchow as its capital. The Shanghai-Ningpo railway runs along the coast, while the Chekiang-Kiangsi railway extends westward from Hangchow. The province produces rice, tea, wine, ham and various fruits and sea food. Important cities are Hangchow, Kienhwa, Shaohing, Wenchow, Ningpo and Kiashing. Hangchow is a nationally famous beauty spot on the West Lake. Ningpo, the birthplace of President Chiang Kai-shek, was one of the earliest and most important of the Treaty Ports. Chekiang has a number of good harbours, such as Chapu, Hsiangshan, Sanmenwan, and Wenchow Bay.

Chinghai.—One of the north-western provinces. Area : 435,746 square miles. Population : 1,513,000, a large section being Tibetan. Contains 17 counties and three administrative bureaux, with Sining as its capital. On the west Chinghai is bordered by Tibet and the province of Sinkiang, and to the south by the province of Sikang. Principal products are wool, hides, and gold. Important cities are Sining, Yushu, and Hwangyuan. There are five large lakes, including the famous Koko Nor. Communications are few and difficult but construction of roads has begun on a large scale. At present there are 625 miles of highway. Navigation on the shallow Yellow River, running through the eastern section of the province, is confined to rafts and small junks.

Fukien, a south-eastern province of China, has an area of 46,332 square miles and a population of 22,870,000. It is one of the most densely populated of the provinces. It is mountainous and the Min River, with its three affluents, provides inland transport. The capital city is Foochow. The principal products are tea, rice, wheat, sugar and ginger. It has several large seaports and numerous small islands off the coast.

Heilungkiang.—The northernmost of the nine north-eastern provinces of China. Area : 167,000 square miles. Population : 2,280,000. Contains 25 counties, with Anpeh as its capital. Railways and highways connect it with other parts of the country. It is an area of high elevation, embracing the entire Hsiao Hsinganling range, with numerous forests. The winter is extremely cold, with a temperature often as low as 40° Centigrade below zero. Warm periods are so short that plant life is scarce. Principal products are timber from the forests, and gold.

Hokiang.—One of the nine north-eastern provinces of China, whose name means the meeting of the rivers Sungari, Ussuri, and Heilungkiang. Area : 110,000 square miles. Population : 1,800,000. Contains 18 counties, with Kiamusze as its capital. Hokiang lies in a low, humid plain. It is thinly populated, largely because of wide marshlands and difficulties in cultivation

and drainage. Plans are afoot to improve the drainage systems in order to attract immigrants. The winter is extremely cold with long periods of heavy frost.

Honan, a mid-Yellow River province, with an area of about 56,000 square miles and a population of 31,805,621. It has 111 hsien, with Kaifeng as its capital. The main railways are the Peiping-Hankow and the Lunghai lines. The province is mainly agricultural, with wheat, cotton, soya beans and sesame as the most important products. The province also produces large varieties of fruits in abundance. Coal is plentiful, notably at Tsiaotso and Liuhokou.

Hopei is a province in the north China Plain, with an area of some 47,000 square miles and a population of 28,644,437. It has 130 hsien and two administrative bureaux. Paoting is the capital city. The province holds two special municipalities: Peiping and Tientsin. The main railways are the Peiping-Hankow, Tientsin-Pukow, Peiping-Mukden, and Peiping-Suiyuan lines. Five rivers meet at Tientsin and these provide abundant water transport; there are also numerous highways. Important products include wheat, cotton, kaoliang, corn, ground nuts, fruits, coal and salt. The industrial centre of the province is Tientsin.

Hsingan.—One of the nine north-eastern provinces of China, bordering the U.S.S.R. and Outer Mongolia on the west. Area: 249,000 square miles. Population: 312,000. Contains seven counties, with Hulun as its capital. The Changchun railway runs through the province, with Manchouli as its terminus. Although it is the largest north-eastern province in area, it has the smallest population, because so much of it is mountainous. The Ta Hsinganling range is covered with thick forests where the Mongol nomads graze their flocks.

Hunan, known as China's rice-bowl province, in the central Yangtze valley. It has an area of about 68,000 square miles and a population of 28,092,454. There are 76 hsien in the province. The capital city is Changsha. The main railways are the Canton-Hankow and the Hunan-Kwangsi lines. Four rivers traverse the province from the south and the west northward and north-eastward. The famous Hengshan is one of the five sacred mountains of China. Principal products are rice, tea, antimony, linen, tung oil, embroidery and mercury.

Hupeh is a province of central China, with an area of some 62,000 square miles and a population of 24,638,988. It contains 70 hsien, and Wuchang is its capital. The great river port of Hankow lies opposite Wuchang across the Yangtze. The province is served by the Peiping-Hankow and Canton-Hankow lines, which link north, central and south China in an unbroken line. The Han River also serves the province as a vital means of communication. There are numerous highways. The principal products are cotton, rice, wheat, tea, iron and jute.

Jehol.—One of the Inner Mongolian provinces of China. Area: 120,300 square miles. Population: 2,185,000. Contains 16 counties and two administrative bureaux, with Chengteh as its capital. Other important cities are Pingchuan, Chaoyang and Chihfeng. The only railway is the Liaoning-Jehol line; highways, however, link it with neighbouring provinces. Chief products are wheat, kaoliang, corn, medical herbs, coal, and gold. The province was formerly the favourite country seat of the Manchu Emperors. Many lama

monasteries exist to serve the religious needs of the various Mongolian banners (clans).

Kansu.—A north-western province in China, shaped like an irregular dumb-bell. Area : 244,700 square miles. Population : 6,256,000. Contains 166 counties, with Lanchow as its capital. Other important cities are Tienhsui, Suchow, and Yumen. Lanchow is the projected terminus of the Lunghai railway, which at present runs from the east coast to Tienhsui in the south : the Tienhsui-Lanchow section is under construction. Principal products are wheat, tobacco, wool, leather, coal and oil. The province is of historic significance as the earliest outlet to the western world through the famous Jade Gate Pass in the Kunlun mountains, which form its western boundary.

Kiangsi, a province of central China, covering some 59,800 square miles. It has 83 hsien and a population of 13,749,159. The capital is Nanchang. The main railways are the Kiukiang-Nanchang, Hunan-Kiangsi and Chekiang-Kiangsi lines, and the province is unusually well supplied with highways. The principal products are rice, tungsten, tea, coal and porcelain. The famous summer resort for dwellers in the capital and other visitors, Kuling, is in the northern part of the province.

Kiangsu, an eastern seaboard province, whose most important city is Shanghai, the greatest commercial port of Further Asia. The province has an area of some 36,000 square miles and a population of 36,469,321, excluding Shanghai. There are 61 hsien with Chinkiang as the capital city. The principal railways are the Tientsin-Pukow and the Nanking-Shanghai-Hangchow lines, and numerous highways connect other parts of the province. The province has also many canals, criss-crossing the numerous waterways and connecting the Yangtze River and the Grand Canal. The principal products are rice, cotton, silk and sea food. Nanking, the national capital, is in Kiangsu.

Kirin.—One of the nine north-eastern provinces of China. Area : 112,700 square miles. Population : 6,090,000. Contains 20 counties, with Changchun as its capital. (Between 1932 and 1945 this city was known as Hsinking, capital of the Japanese puppet state of " Manchukuo "). Changchun is the natural centre of the entire north-east and headquarters of the Changchun railway (the Chinese Eastern and the South Manchuria railways). Other important cities are Kirin City, and Chaoyang. The province is well served by railways, with Changchun, Kirin, Chaoyang, Yamen and Wangching as main junctions. Chief products are soya bean, various minerals, including coal and iron, and timber. The eastern border adjoins the U.S.S.R. Owing to its propinquity to Harbin and Vladivostok, the territory offers distinct advantages to ocean traders.

Kwangsi, a southern province with an area of 74,100 square miles and a population of 14,861,470. It has 99 hsien, with Kweilin as its capital. The Hunan-Kwangsi and Kwangsi-Kweichow lines serve all the important cities of the province, and there are many fine highways. The most important products are rice, wheat, timber and fruits.

Kwangtung, a south China province with an area of 74,000 square miles and a population of 32,338,795. Canton is the capital city, and there are 93 hsien in the whole province. The main railways are the Canton-Hankow

and Canton-Samshui, together with the Canton-Kowloon lines. Highways connect almost every part of the province and the Pearl, West and North Rivers reach far inland and serve otherwise isolated townships and villages. Hongkong provides the main outlet for the manifold produce of the province. The principal products are rice, ground nuts, sweet potatoes, silk, fruits and sea food.

Kweichow, a south-western province covering some 59,000 square miles, with a population of 10,557,397. It holds 80 hsien and has Kweiyang as its capital city. The only railway serving the province is a short portion of the Kwangsi-Kweichow line. The principal products are rice, coal, mercury and fruits. Much of the province is mountainous.

Liaoning.—One of the nine north-eastern provinces of China. Area : 69,912 square miles. Population : 8,100,000. Contains 25 counties, with Shenyang (Mukden) as its capital. Other important cities are Fushun, the famous coal-producing centre ; Penki, well-known for its iron ; Liaoyang, and Chinhsien. Railways radiating from Mukden include the Changchun and the Peiping-Liaoning lines. There is an excellent network of highways. Chief products are wheat, soya bean, millet, coal, and iron. The climate is the best in the north-east, free from extremes of heat and cold owing to an abundant rainfall.

Liaopei.—One of the nine north-eastern provinces. Area : 89,000 square miles. Population : 3,860,000. Contains 10 counties, with Szepingkai as its capital. Other important cities are Liaoyuan and Tungliao. Szepingkai and Liaoyuan are the two principal railway junctions. Chief products are wheat, soya bean, and millet. Liaopei extends like a belt from the north-west to the south-east. The south-eastern area is extremely fertile and suitable for mechanical farming. The north-western region has a poor rainfall, but natural hill streams make the pastures good for grazing.

Ningsia.—A north-western province in China. Area : 171,800 square miles. Population : 724,000. Contains 13 counties, with Ningsia City as its capital. There is no railway and only a few highways, and Yellow River junks connect it with neighbouring provinces. Around Ningsia City is a network of canals, which provide water for a number of small farms. Chief products are wheat, wool and livestock. The north-western region is inhabited by nomadic Mongolian-speaking Khalkas and Buriats. The Alashan range runs through the centre of the province.

Nunkiang.—One of the nine north-eastern provinces of China. Area : 69,200 square miles. Population : 2,420,000. Contains 16 counties, with Lungkiang (Tsitsihar) as its capital. The Changchun railway runs through the province, linking it with branch lines to other parts of the north-east. Principal products are soya bean, kaoliang, wheat and gold.

Shansi is one of the north China provinces and has an area of some 52,000 square miles. The population numbers 11,601,026. There are 105 hsien in the province, whose capital city is Taiyuan. The chief railways are the Shihchiachwang-Taiyuan and the Tungpu lines. The principal products are wheat, cotton, coal and fruits.

Shantung is a northern province, with an approximate area of 49,000 square miles and a population of 38,099,741. There are 107 hsien and Tsinan is the capital city. The main railways are the Tientsin-Pukow and Tsinan-Tsingtao lines. The chief products are wheat, cotton, kaoliang (millet), salt, fruits, silk and sea food.

Shensi.—A north-western province of China. Area : 118,000 square miles. Population : 9,389,000. Contains 92 counties and one administrative bureau, with Sian as its capital. Sian is also an ancient natural capital and remains a cultural centre. Other important cities are Paoki, Sienyang, Tungkwan, Nancheng, and Yen-an, where the Chinese Communist Party have their headquarters. The Lunghai railway runs through the province, and a line is projected to connect the province with Szechwan. The old strategic highways have been extended to provide communication with Szechwan and the north-western provinces. Chief products are cotton, wheat, maize, oil, coal and medical herbs.

Sikang.—A province in west China, bordering Tibet. Area : 266,900 square miles. Population : 1,756,000. Contains 46 counties and two administrative bureaux, with Kangting as its capital. Other important cities are Yaan and Sichang. Sikang forms part of the eastern Tibetan Plateau. It borders Szechwan province on the east and Tibet on the west. There is no railway, and only two highways link it with the provinces of Szechwan and Chinghai. Main products are livestock, gold and wheat. Among the population are large numbers of Tibetans and Lolos. The famous giant panda inhabits the high mountains bordering Sikang and Szechwan. The whole of the western region is mountainous, so that arable farming is only to be found in the east.

Sinkiang.—The westernmost province of China, formerly known as Chinese Turkestan. Borders Tibet and Turkestan. Area : 1,142,700 square miles. Population : 4,360,000. Contains 59 counties and 11 administrative bureaux, with Tihwa as its capital. Other important cities are Hami and Ining. There are no railways, but highways connect the province with other parts of the country and also with the U.S.S.R. Chief products are wheat, cotton, livestock and fruits. The inhabitants are Chinese, Mongols, Moslems, Kazakhs, and other tribes. Sinkiang is sometimes referred to as China's "back door". In antiquity, and especially during the 1937-45 war, it provided one of the two routes through which China contacted the outside world.

Suiyuan.—An Inner Mongolian province in north China. Area : 217,200 square miles. Population : 2,084,000. Contains 18 counties and two administrative bureaux, with Kweisui as its capital. Other important cities are Paotow, terminus of the Peiping-Suiyuan railway ; Wuyuan, Liangcheng, and Tsining. Highways connect the province with towns in Sinkiang and other north-western provinces. Farming is mainly confined to the central area, where a system of canals connects it with the Yellow River. Main products are wheat, livestock and coal. The inhabitants are mostly nomad agriculturists and belong to Mongolian banners (clans).

Sungkiang.—One of China's nine north-eastern provinces. Area : 88,700 square miles. Population : 4,000,000. Contains 21 counties, with Harbin as its capital. Other important cities are Acheng, Mutankiang, and Hohsi. The Changchun railway runs through the province. Chief products are soya bean

kaoliang, millet and timber. The province consists of fertile plains in the west, and hilly regions with valuable forests in the east, where it borders the U.S.S.R. As is the case with other provinces in the north-east, there is plenty of room for immigrants.

Szechwan, a western province of China, has an area of almost 125,000 square miles and a population of 45,845,804. There are 137 hsien in the province, and Chengtu is its capital. The war-time capital of the country, Chungking, is in this province, which so far has no railways, although several lines are projected. There are, however, many highways, while a number of rivers and streams provide transport for wide areas of the province, both before and after they join up with the Yangtze. The chief products are rice, cotton, wheat, corn, herb medicines, tung oil, silk and salt.

Taiwan (Formosa).—Island province of China off the south-east coast. Area : 13,889 square miles. Population : 6,500,000. Taiwan was Chinese territory from 1683 until 1895, when it was ceded to Japan after the Sino-Japanese War. It was re-occupied by China in 1945, after the conclusion of World War II. The capital is Taipei. Other important cities are the ports of Kilung, Taitung, Anping and Lukang ; Tainan, and Chiayi. As the centre of the island is mountainous, the main railways run along the coast. There is an excellent network of highways. Chief products are 90 per cent. of the world's camphor ; sugar, tobacco, salt, coal and gold. The annual production of sugar is 17,000,000 tons, the fourth largest of any country. Between Taiwan and Fukien, on the mainland, is a group of 21 small but strategically important islands known as the Pescadores. Since 1895 this group was also under Japanese rule, but was re-occupied at the same time as Taiwan. Ninety-four per cent. of the population are Chinese, the remainder being aboriginal tribes dwelling in the hills.

Tibet.—A special territory of the Chinese Republic. Area : 759,900 square miles. Population : 3,722,000. Tibet, which borders Burma and India to the south, is divided into three parts, containing 52 cities and towns, with Lhasa as its capital. Its average height above sea level is 15,000 feet, hence its popular name, "The roof of the world". The Himalaya mountains, forming the southern limit of the territory, rise to nearly 30,000 feet. Other important cities are Shikatsé, Gyantse and Yatung. The Dalai Lama lives at Lhasa, while the Panchan Lama lives at Shikatsé. There is no railway, but one is contemplated, which will connect with Szechwan province. There are roads linking Tibet with Sikang and Szechwan as well as with India. Chief products are livestock, including yaks ; medicine, gold and salt.

Yunnan, the most south-westerly of the provinces of China (it abuts on the Himalayas), has an area of some 140,000 square miles and a population of 10,557,397. There are 112 hsien and Kunming is the capital. The Yunnan-Indo-China line serves part of this vast province. The Burma Road, famous in the second World War, connects the interior of the province with the heart of Burma. The principal products are wheat, rice, tin, silver, copper and marble.

Section III

KUOMINTANG

Section III

THE KUOMINTANG

THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF CHINA IS CHARACTERISED BY THREE OUTSTANDING events, namely, the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in 1911, the Northern Expedition of the Kuomintang armies based in Canton against the War-lords in 1926-8, and the War of Resistance against Japan. Guiding China's destiny in the past several decades is the Kuomintang, or the People's Party, which celebrated its 50th anniversary in November, 1944.

The founder of the Kuomintang was Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who, in his school days in Hongkong, first advocated the reform of China's governing machinery under the corrupt and rapidly deteriorating Manchu regime. In 1894 he organised the *Hsing Chung Hui*, or the Regenerate China Society, in Honolulu, which in 1905 was reorganised and renamed *Chung Kuo Tung Meng Hui*, or the China Brotherhood Society. In 1912 the name of the Party was changed to *Kuo Min Tang*, or the People's Party, in 1914 to *Chung Hua Ke Ming Tang*, or the Chinese Revolutionary Party, and finally in 1919 to *Chung Kuo Kuo Min Tang*, which now stands. The first two characters of the name are often dropped in Western usage.

Since 1928, when the Northern Expedition was successfully completed and the National Government formally established in Nanking, the Kuomintang has been China's ruling party under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek. It has since then embarked upon the task of training the people so as to enable them to exercise their political rights. This period, known as the Period of Political Tutelage in Dr. Sun's writings, has been introduced with a *Provisional Constitution*, aiming at gradually entering into the stage of constitutionalism with the convocation of the National Assembly, which met in November-December, 1946, and adopted the Constitution, put into effect on December 25th, 1947.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE KUOMINTANG

Dr. Sun first used the name *Hsing Chung Hui* in Macao in 1892, when he gathered together there a group of sympathisers under strict surveillance of the Manchus. The Society was formally inaugurated in Honolulu in 1894, with the publication of a Manifesto. The aim of the Society then was to overthrow the Manchu rule and to restore the nation to the Chinese. Branches were established in Hongkong, Japan, and the United States. Membership greatly increased by 1900 as other anti-Manchu groups in Central and South China joined in to plan for the final blow to the Manchu Dynasty.

Dr. Sun's activities at the moment naturally disturbed the Manchu Court. He and three other revolutionary young men were officially branded as the "Four Big Rebels." When the *Hsing Chung Hui* was formally organised, Dr. Sun, besides announcing his revolutionary programme in a Manifesto, adopted as the party insignia a Blue Sky and White Sun, which, with a Red Earth background, is now China's national flag.

Dr. Sun staged his first armed uprising in Canton in 1895, one year after the organisation of the party. The attempt failed, whereupon Dr. Sun began his long life of exile. He first went to Japan and later to England. While in London he was once detained in the Chinese Legation and was released only after strong protests by the British Government.* It was also in London that he completed his *San Min Chu I*, the *Three People's Principles*.

In August, 1905, the *Chung Kuo Tung Meng Hui* was formed in Tokyo. This new organisation represented the second phase in the development of the Kuomintang. It set before itself a twofold aim: the overthrow of the Manchu rule and the building up of a new nation along the lines of broad nationalism and republicanism. In Dr. Sun's mind there began to take shape at this time a comprehensive political and ideal programme for the Chinese people. It was not enough, he realised, merely to adopt Western ideas of government. China's long past and her cultural background must be reconsidered in the light of her present-day needs. Thus, the *Three People's Principles* were formulated, which present-day China has adopted as its political creed.

The *Tung Meng Hui* absorbed a number of small revolutionary parties and groups. Many of the revolutionaries, including Dr. Sun himself, were then taking refuge in Japan. The Society's policy was summarised in four slogans, namely, Overthrow the Manchu Rule, Restore the Chinese Nation, Establish a Republic, and Equalise Land Ownership. These four slogans embraced the essentials of the *Three People's Principles*.

Imbued with the spirit of Dr. Sun, the members of the *Tung Meng Hui* spread over all the provinces of China as well as settling in Japan, Europe, North and South America, and the South Seas. By clandestine means revolutionary organs were established throughout China. People of all sorts and conditions rallied to the support of the revolutionary cause. Dr. Sun had organised and personally led several abortive uprisings in many parts of the country before the final success came in 1911. The storming of the Viceroy's Yamen in Wuchang on the night of October 10th, 1911, led eventually to the abdication of the last Manchu Emperor and to the establishment of the Chinese Republic. Dr. Sun served as President of the Provisional Republican Government, with the capital in Nanking.

In 1912, the *Tung Meng Hui* was reorganised into the *Kuo Min Tang*, which functioned as an ordinary political party in the Republican Government. The young Republic then entered upon a period of internal strife, during which time Dr. Sun and his followers were constantly combating the forces opposed to the aims of the Revolution. Circumstances were such that Dr. Sun resigned from the presidency in favour of Yuan Shih-kai, an ambitious militarist and politician, who, before the founding of the Republic, had served under the Manchu regime. Realising that the ideas of the Revolution had not yet taken root, Dr. Sun reorganised his party into the *Chung Hua Ke Ming Tang*, or the Chinese Revolutionary Party, in 1914, and led a nation-wide revolution against Yuan Shih-kai, which, though unsuccessful, temporarily discouraged Yuan from attempting another monarchy in China. Yuan, in fact, became "Emperor" for 82 days in the spring of 1916 before he died in despair.

* See *The Times*, October 24th and 26th, 1896.

Yuan's death did not mean, however, the end of the reactionary elements. The Peking Government remained in the hands of the Northern war-lords for some years, during which period civil war continually prevailed. In 1919 the Chinese Revolutionary Party was reorganised into the present Kuomintang, when the *General Regulations of the Kuomintang* were promulgated. Its political programme was then announced. It principally consisted of the Three People's Principles and the Quintuple-Power Constitution, as they stand to-day. Dr. Sun split sovereignty into two portions: the political power to be exercised by the people through the National Assembly and the governing power to be exercised by the government entrusted with five functions, namely, executive, legislative, judicial, examination, and control.

In 1923 Dr. Sun inaugurated the Nationalist Government in Canton as a preliminary step towards the preparation of an expedition against the Peking regime. The following year saw the opening of the Whampoa Military Academy, cadets from which later became the backbone of the Revolutionary Army which defeated the Northern war-lords in 1926-8. Dr. Sun, who appointed President Chiang Kai-shek Principal of the Academy, did not live long enough to see the completion of the Northern Expedition. He died in 1924, in Peking, where he had gone to make his last effort to persuade the Peking Government to reassume the functions of a constitutional government.

President Chiang Kai-shek was appointed by the Nationalist Government of Canton in 1926 Commander-in-Chief of the National Revolutionary Army to lead the Northern Expedition. In a period of eight months, Generalissimo Chiang's forces swept over Central China and captured Nanking, and, by the end of 1928, the entire nation had been brought under the banner of the Blue Sky and White Sun. The seat of the Nationalist Government was then moved from Canton to Nanking.

The first National Congress of the Kuomintang was held in Canton in 1924. It was an important occasion in the history of the Party. It re-affirmed Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles as the Party Platform. It adopted a definite policy in reference to foreign and internal affairs. The salient points embodied were: externally, the abrogation of all unequal treaties, the settlement of foreign loans insofar as this might not impair China's political and economic interests; internally, the demarcation of the central and local administrative powers on an equitable basis, the adoption of the *hsien* (county) as the basic unit of local self-government; the introduction of universal suffrage, the taking of a census of the population, the improvement of rural organisation and labour conditions.

As a rule, the National Congress of the Kuomintang meets once every two years. The Second Congress was held in 1926, two years after the First Congress; the Third in 1929, immediately after the completion of the Northern Expedition; the Fourth in 1931; and the Fifth in 1935. An extraordinary National Congress was convened in Hankow in 1938, the year after the outbreak of the war with Japan. But owing to wartime conditions it was not until May, 1945, that the Kuomintang was able to hold its Sixth National Congress. When the National Congress is in recess, the highest organs are the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee.

At the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang, held in Hankow in 1938, a *Programme of Armed Resistance and National Reconstruction*, which became the basic policy of Wartime Government, was passed. The important points of the Programme were as follows :

1. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles should continue to serve as the goal of all wartime activities and of national reconstruction.

2. China is prepared to ally herself with any state which sympathises with her cause and to wage a common struggle with her Allies for peace and justice ; to safeguard and strengthen the machinery of peace as well as all treaties and conventions that have the maintenance of peace as their ultimate object ; to ally herself with all forces that are opposed to Japanese imperialism in order to check Japanese aggression and to safeguard peace in the Far East, and to improve still further the existing friendly relations with other Powers in order to gain more sympathy for the cause.

3. A People's Political Council should be created in order to unify the national strength, to utilise the best minds of the nation and to facilitate the formulation and execution of national policies.

4. The *hsien* should be taken as the fundamental unit of local self-government, which should be installed as soon as possible in preparation for the eventual promulgation of a Constitution.

5. Economic reconstruction particularly village economy should be stressed, co-operative enterprise encouraged, mining projects undertaken, wartime taxes levied, banking business controlled, facilities of communications and transportation improved, speculation and hoarding of commodities prohibited.

6. Freedom of speech, Press, and assembly should be guaranteed to the people provided they do not contravene Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles or the provisions of the law.

7. All bogus political organisations which Japan created in consequence of her military occupation of Chinese territory were declared null and void, and all their actions are repudiated.

The Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang was held in Chungking in May, 1945. The chief function of this Congress was to conclude Kuomintang party rule and thus return the political power to the people. The most important decision reached at the convention was to convene the National Assembly and to adopt a permanent Constitution for the Republic of China so as to end the Kuomintang's political tutelage and to return the political power to the people. China thus entered upon constitutionalism following the confusion and chaos prevalent during the past five decades. This chaos was the direct result of Manchu rule, warlordism, and the invasion of Japan, against all of which the Kuomintang has persistently waged a determined war.

THE PRESENT ORGANISATION OF THE KUOMINTANG

The existing *General Regulations of the Kuomintang* were adopted by the First National Congress of the Party in 1924, and have since undergone several revisions. In their present form, the *General Regulations* comprise 13 chapters with 89 articles.

According to the Regulations, any one who is willing to accept the platform of the Party, to carry out its resolutions, to observe its discipline and to fulfil the duties and obligations imposed by the Party, may, upon application for membership being accepted, become a member of the Kuomintang. A member has the right to express his opinion, to vote, to elect and to be elected.

The Kuomintang has five vertical grades, namely, the National Congress, the Provincial Congress, the *Hsien* Congress, the *Chu* (district) Congress or the *Chu* members' general meeting, and the sub-*Chu* members' general meeting. During recess, their executive committees are organs of authority. Each organ of authority must take orders from the higher organ and carry out its resolutions. The Central Executive Committee (of the National Congress) may establish a number of boards and sub-committees to carry out ordinary and extraordinary affairs of the Party.

All members of the Party must observe the following rules of discipline :

(1) obey the regulations and principles of the Party, (2) allow free discussion on any problems concerning the Party, but a resolution once passed or adopted must be absolutely obeyed, (3) keep Party secrets, (4) permit no attack on fellow members or Party organs before outsiders, (5) not to join any other political party, and (6) not to organise cliques or factions within the Party.

At the Fifth National Congress of the Party in 1935, the following 12 rules were adopted as the Dicta for Kuomintang Members.

1. Loyalty and courage are the basis of patriotism.
2. Filial devotion is the basis of family discipline.
3. Goodwill and kindness are the basis of harmony among fellow-beings.
4. Faithfulness and uprightness are the basis of a useful career.
5. Peaceableness is the basis of smoothness in man's social relationships.
6. Courtesy is the basis of proper administration.
7. Obedience is the basis of a high sense of responsibility.
8. Diligence and thrift are the basis of efficient service.
9. Orderliness and cleanliness are the basis of sound health.
10. Helpfulness is the basis of happiness.
11. Knowledge is the basis of usefulness to mankind.
12. Perseverance is the basis of achievement.

Following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang adopted seven more war-time rules for all Party Members. They were :

1. Strictly adhere to all laws promulgated by the Government before and since the war began, and observe Party discipline.
2. Precede the people in facing risks and follow the people in enjoying leisure.
3. Bury all intra-party and extra-party differences from of old, be united in spirit and in action, and share fortunes and reverses together.

4. Set an example to the people by being the first to respond to all war-time calls for service and for contribution.
5. Absolutely obey orders of Party organs and the military commanders in each locality.
6. Strengthen the organisation in all grades of the Party and instil military discipline.
7. In all circumstances keep military secrets and assist the local authorities in the maintenance of peace and order.

The National Congress is the highest organ of authority of the Kuomintang. It is invested with the following powers : (1) to accept and adopt reports of the Central Executive Committee of the Party and of the various departments in the central Party organ, (2) to revise the political platform and regulations of the Party, (3) to decide on policies and measures on current problems, and (4) to elect full and reserve members of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee.

The Central Executive Committee, with 220 members and 90 reserve members, is charged with the following duties : (1) to carry out the resolutions of the Party National Congress, (2) to organise and direct local Party organs, (3) to organise various central departments of the Party, and (4) to manage Party expenses and finance.

Under the Party rule, the Central Executive Committee is competent to decide on any matter in regard to Party and Government affairs, subject only to revision by the National Congress. It elects the President of the National Government of China who is responsible to it, pending the enforcement of a *Permanent Constitution*, scheduled to take place in December, 1947.

The Central Executive Committee has a Standing Committee numbering 25, functioning during the recess of the C.E.C. which meets once every six months. It has now a Secretariat and four Party Boards besides a number of other organs and sub-committees. The four boards are the Board of Organisation, the Board of Information, the Board of Overseas Affairs, and the Board of Labour.

The Central Supervisory Committee, with 104 members and 44 reserve members, has the power (1) to decide on penalties for lower Party organs or Party members violating the discipline of the Party, (2) to examine the receipts and expenditure of the Central Executive Committee, (3) to review the progress of Party affairs and to issue orders to the lower Party organs for the examination of Party affairs, and (4) to review the administrative measures and accomplishments of the National Government in the light of the Party platform and policies. The C.S.C. meets once every six months and has a Standing Committee of seven. It has its own Secretariat.

TSUNGLI AND TSUNGTSAI

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Kuomintang, was *Tsungli* (Director-General) of the Party. His orders for the propagation of *San Min Chu I*

should be obeyed by all Party members. He was to preside over the sessions of the Party National Congress and the Central Executive Committee and had the power of veto on all resolutions passed by either body. Dr. Sun died in Peking (now Peiping) on March 12th, 1924, but the provision in the *General Regulations of the Kuomintang* concerning his position as *Tsungli* is preserved as a tribute to his memory. At the Extraordinary National Congress in 1938, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was elected *Tsungtsai* (Chief Executive) and was empowered to exercise all powers previously exercised by *Tsungli*.

Generalissimo Chiang was born in Fenghwa, Chekiang Province, on October 31st, 1887. He paid a brief visit to Japan in 1905 when he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other Chinese revolutionary leaders. He studied at the Paoting Military Academy in North China in 1906 and at the Tokyo Military Academy in 1907-11. He returned to China following the outbreak of the Revolution in 1911 and joined the Revolution Army in Shanghai.

He then followed Dr. Sun to Canton and was attached to the General Headquarters. In 1923 he was sent to Moscow to study the Soviet military organisation. He returned to China in the same year and was appointed President of the Whampoa Military Academy in 1924. He became the Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Expeditionary Forces in 1926 and by 1928 China was united under his command.

Following the establishment of the National Government in Nanking in 1928, Generalissimo Chiang was elected President of the National Government. He resigned in 1931.

In the following year he was appointed Chairman of the National Military Council. He was elected *Tsungtsai* of the Kuomintang at the Extraordinary National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1938 and was re-elected at the Sixth National Congress of the Party in May, 1945. In 1943, he succeeded the late Mr. Lin Sen as President of the National Government.

THE KUOMINTANG'S POLITICAL PROGRAMME

The Kuomintang's Political Programme was first adopted by its First National Congress, held in Canton in 1924. It was revised in May, 1945, at the Party's Sixth National Congress. The following is the text of the revised political programme and policy of the Kuomintang, adopted by the Sixth Congress at a session on May 18th, 1945 :—

“ Accepting the Three People's Principles as the highest guiding authority, the Kuomintang in its fifty years of revolutionary history overthrew the Manchu regime, swept away War-lordism, and carried on the War of Resistance and National Reconstruction. These concrete achievements are a matter of common knowledge.

“ The Kuomintang now directs its entire efforts to the achievement of final victory, constitutionalism, and improvement of the people's livelihood. To

meet the needs of the times, the following outline of policy has been adopted, and it is urged that an unprecedented and united effort be made to attain the objective.

" 1. *Pertaining to Nationalism.*—The Principle of Nationalism seeks to attain freedom for the nation and equality for all the racial groups within the country. In its present phase, the urgent task is to strive for early victory and to assist in the development of the frontier races so as to achieve an independent, free and unified nation in order that China may bear its proper responsibility in the promotion of international peace. Important points in the programme are :

" 1. Mobilisation of our entire national effort to beat Japan to unconditional surrender, disarm her both militarily and economically and eliminate her ideas of aggression.

" 2. Realisation of the Cairo Declaration with a view to attaining China's territorial and administrative integrity and assisting Korea in winning her independence.

" 3. Collaboration with the Allied nations to establish the international security organisation to maintain permanent peace.

" 4. Conclusion of mutual pacts and development of friendly relations with the Allied nations, particularly economic and cultural co-operation, with a view to promoting world security and prosperity.

" 5. Conclusion of commercial treaties with other nations on the principles of quality and reciprocity, and improvement of the situation of the overseas Chinese.

" 6. Realisation of local autonomy of the Mongolians and Tibetans on a high plane and assistance in a balanced economic and cultural development of the frontier racial groups with a view to laying the foundation of a free and unified Chinese Republic.

" 7. Protection and strengthening of the unity of the nation, and strict prohibition of the violation of Government laws and decrees or any action detrimental to unity in the fields of foreign affairs, military affairs, finance, communications, and currency.

" 8. Positive steps to augment the equipment of the National Army, reorientation of military education, improvement of conscription, administration, improvement of the livelihood of officers and men, and betterment of the personnel and management systems with a view to building a modern Army.

" 9. Universal promotion of the people's health and expansion of sanitary and health enterprises with a view to increasing national health.

" 10. Encouragement of scientific research, improvement of the policy of sending students to study abroad, and the increase of facilities for academic research within the country in order to meet the needs of national reconstruction.

" *II. Pertaining to People's Rights.*—The Principle of People's Rights seeks to promote both direct and indirect sovereign rights of the people. At its present stage of development it aims at the early establishment of a constitutional government, consummation of local autonomy, popularisation of people's education and protection of the status of women. Important points of the programme are :

" 1. Convening of the National Assembly to adopt a five-power constitution and enforce constitutional government.

" 2. Protection of the freedom of speech, the Press, assembly, organisation, religion and academic research.

" 3. Promotion of local autonomous activities in accordance with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings, such as the universal establishment of organs of people's opinion and election of magistrates and mayors within a fixed period of time.

" 4. Enactment of voluntary labour service in aid of local autonomous activities and public utilities.

" 5. Strict enforcement of government by law, severe punishment for corruption, heightening of administrative efficiency, establishment of a clean government and improvement of the treatment of public functionaries and school teachers by introducing health insurance and the pension system.

" 6. Rationalisation of administrative machinery, establishment of a sound civil service, and fixation of the terms of office for officials of various ranks, and raising of qualifications in the election of basic personnel for local autonomy.

" 7. Realisation of true equality between men and women economically, socially, politically and educationally.

" 8. Popularisation of mass education within a time limit and promotion of adult education to eliminate illiteracy.

" 9. Equal opportunity for all institutes of education, and free tuition for needy students with high scholastic standing in middle schools and colleges and also for returned members of the Youth Army.

" 10. Protection of the unity and independence of the judicial powers, simplification of legal procedure, introduction of prison reforms, and protection of the livelihood of prisoners who have served their terms.

" *III. Pertaining to People's Livelihood.*—The Principle of People's Livelihood seeks to attain the equalisation of land ownership on the one hand and the control of private capital on the other. With this in view the primary task of the Government will be to assist the people in the production of the four necessities : food, clothing, shelter, and means of travel. The Government will strive to help the people to develop agriculture, textile industry, housing projects, and means of communications as roads, railways, waterways. In planning

war-time production, consideration has also been given to the post-war reconstruction plan in which private enterprise will be assisted and encouraged, foreign capital and technical assistance welcomed, development of agriculture and industry kept in balance and demobilization of soldiers for absorption into peace-time work so as to raise the standard of living of the people. Important points of the programme are :

“ 1. In accordance with Dr. Sun's plan of industrial development, foreign capital and technical assistance should be sought in the tasks of post-war economic reconstruction. To implement this plan, priority will be accorded to the development of communications and electric power and balanced development of agriculture and industry. All industries which are of a monopolistic nature and beyond the reach of private finance should be undertaken by the state or the public. All others should be handled by private individuals with Government help if necessary.

“ 2. International co-operation to stabilize the exchange rate and the value of the Chinese dollar. China's foreign trade should be developed according to the needs that may arise from the industrialisation of this country and the general advancement of the world.

“ 3. Taxation should be reformed and simplified. Direct taxes should be levied according to the progressive scale and the amount of inheritance be duly restricted.

“ 4. All land in open areas should be taken over by the state. Land ownership by the tillers should be encouraged. All lands which are not cultivated by the owners themselves should be gradually brought over by the state.

“ 5. Farmers' organisations should be strengthened in order to protect their interests and improve their living conditions. In addition, the system of collective farms should be enforced so as to hasten the industrialisation of China's agriculture.

“ 6. Labour organisation should be developed, treatment for workers improved and closer co-operation between capital and labour encouraged. To improve the efficiency of the workers, woman and child labour should be duly protected.

“ 7. Social insurance and other social welfare work, particularly unemployment insurance and promotion of children's health, should be pushed forward.

“ 8. Special treatment should be accorded to the families of expeditionary forces and of fallen soldiers. The enlisted men should be given proper employment after demobilization and due care be given to those who were maimed during the war.

“ 9. Relief should be given to the people in the war areas and areas re-captured by Chinese forces.

“ 10. The property of Government employees or those in the employment of public enterprises should be registered. No Government employee should be allowed to engage in any business enterprise.”

PARTY AND GOVERNMENT

An underlying fact of the present government structure in China is the Party Rule established by the Kuomintang following the Northern Expedition in 1926-28. Since then the Kuomintang has been exercising the governing power on behalf of the people, and the existing National Government is responsible to the Party. The Party Rule will be brought to a close after the enforcement of the Constitution on December 25th, 1947.

The Kuomintang's Party Rule has been embodied by laws. In 1928, following the Northern Expedition, the *Programme of Political Tutelage* was enacted and promulgated. Article I of the Programme reads : “ During the Period of Political Tutelage, the Kuomintang National Congress shall lead the nation and exercise the governing power on behalf of the National Assembly.” Later, this Programme was set forth in the *Provisional Constitution for the Period of Political Tutelage*, promulgated in June, 1931.

The Kuomintang's programme for rebuilding China is based upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings. Dr. Sun divided the course of national reconstruction into three periods, namely, Military Operations, Political Tutelage, and Constitutional Government. During the first period everything should be subordinated to military needs. The second period begins in any province where peace and order are completely restored. Its component counties must each take a detailed census, survey all land, set up an efficient self-defence force, and build all necessary roads. Before a county is qualified for self-government, its people must be given training in the exercise of their political powers, namely, election, recall, initiative, and referendum. When all the counties in any province have been thus prepared, that province advances into the Period of Constitutional Government and a representative assembly will be organized. Finally, when more than half of the provinces in the country have advanced into the same stage, the National Assembly shall be convened to adopt and promulgate a Permanent Constitution. This will be followed by the formation of a new National Government responsible to the National Assembly instead of to the Party Congress, as is the case at present.

This procedure as laid down by Dr. Sun has been followed by the present National Government since it came to power in 1927-28. In the Period of Military Operations, the Kuomintang's revolutionary armies defeated the warlords, overthrew the corrupt government in Peking, and founded the National Government in Nanking. The military period came to an end in 1928 and the following year began the Period of Political Tutelage which was to last for six years. A Provisional Constitution was adopted in May, 1931. In 1934 work had been started on a draft constitution which was promulgated by the National Government on May 5th, 1936. The Japanese invasion,

however, delayed the full realisation of this programme. It was not until November-December, 1946, that the National Assembly met and adopted the Constitution.

For the direction and supervision of the National Government in the Period of Political Tutelage, the Kuomintang had voted a Political Committee in 1924, which was known as the Central Political Council. The functions of the Political Committee were taken over in August, 1937, by the Supreme National Defence Conference, which was reorganised into the Supreme National Defence Council in January, 1939. The Supreme National Defence Council served as the highest organ for political direction in war-time China. It was abolished and its powers were transferred to the State Council of the National Government in April, 1947, after the formation of the interim Coalition Government among the Kuomintang, the Young China Party, the Social Democratic Party, and independents. The Kuomintang re-elected its own Political Council to function as a purely party organ.

The National Assembly has adopted a Constitution based on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles: The Principle of Nationalism, the Principle of People's Rights, and the Principle of People's Livelihood. The Three People's Principles have now become China's political creed, supported by all political groups and leaders of the nation. The essential idea of these principles is to create a unified and independent nation in which the people will enjoy both political and economic democracy. The Principle of Nationalism might be called the "Principle of Racial or National Freedom," while the Principle of People's Rights is designed to give the people not only the right of election, but the rights of recall, initiative, and referendum. The Principle of People's Livelihood is essentially socialistic and calls for the assurance of reasonable standards of living for all the people of China.

While the people enjoy the political rights through a National Assembly as outlined by Dr. Sun, on the administrative side the purpose of constitutionalism is to establish a five-power government—the Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination, and Control Yuan. The first three are much like those of three government divisions in western democracies with the Executive Yuan functioning as Cabinet. The two powers of examination and control are Dr. Sun's own creation, based on China's traditional practices. The former is concerned with the selection of civil servants through competitive examination, while the latter pertains to the impeachment of government officials.

After the conclusion of One Party Rule and the initiation of the Period of Constitutional Government the Kuomintang will function as one of the country's political parties having equal legal status with other parties, including the Communist Party.

THE KUOMINTANG AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

(1) *Historical Background*

The Kuomintang's relations with the Chinese Communist Party are long and complicated. In December, 1922, Mr. A. A. Joffe, the Moscow

Government's special envoy to China, met Dr. Sun Yat-sen in Shanghai. The following January, the two issued a joint statement, which reads in part as follows :—

“ Dr. Sun Yat-sen holds that the Communistic order or even the Soviet system cannot actually be introduced into China, because there do not exist here the conditions for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism. This view is entirely shared by Mr. Joffe, who is further of opinion that China's paramount and most pressing problem is to achieve national unification and attain full national independence, and regarding this task, he has assured Dr. Sun Yat-sen that China has the warmest sympathy of the Russian people and can count on the support of Russia.”

In January, 1924, the Kuomintang completed its reorganisation. An understanding was reached with the Chinese Communist Party whereby individual Chinese Communists were allowed to join the Kuomintang “ in order to add to the strength of revolutionary elements in the country.” Li Ta-chao, then an important member of the Chinese Communist Party, declared : “ In joining the Kuomintang, Communists of the Third International are to comply with Kuomintang discipline and to participate in the National Revolution. They have not the slightest intention of turning the Kuomintang into a Communist Party. Those Communists who join the Kuomintang do so as individuals and not on a party basis.”

Soon after they were admitted, however, the Communists as an organised body engaged in activities at variance with the Three People's Principles. At first they were opposed to the Northern Expedition. After the Expedition was launched, they worked their way into various political and military organs, spread their network of surreptitious activities, and tried to control the masses. Meanwhile their important leaders gathered in Hankow, then the headquarters of the Revolutionary movement, and created disturbances behind the Nationalist Forces, thereby sabotaging the Expedition. Later they openly brought pressure to bear upon the Nationalist Forces and created a reign of terror in Hunan, Hupeh, and Kiangsi.

In order to prevent the expedition from ending in failure, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and other Kuomintang leaders went to Nanking. In April, 1927, Nanking was declared the National Capital of China. Simultaneously steps were taken to purge the Kuomintang rank and file of Communists. In July the Communists adopted a programme of armed insurrection. From then on, for a period of about eight years, the Communists maintained a separate army and an independent government over several provinces in Central China with their “ capital ” at Juiking, Southern Kiangsi. Finding it impossible to countenance such acts of insubordination, the National Government resorted to military measures. Numerous suppressive campaigns were launched. By early 1935 the Government troops had thrown a gradually tightening ring around Juiking. Whereupon the Communists, to avoid destruction, fled westwards, crossing many provinces, until they finally reached Northern Shensi.

(2) Developments during the War

The increasing Japanese menace after 1931 and the realisation of the futility of further armed opposition to the National Government made the Communists

see the necessity of reconciliation with the Kuomintang. In May, 1936, they appealed to the National Government asking that the campaign against the Communist armed forces be brought to an end in order that the war against Japanese aggression might be pursued as a common aim. Three months later they repeated their appeal to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang and sent delegates to open negotiations with Kuomintang leaders, hoping to reach an agreement.

At the Third Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, held in Nanking in February, 1937, a resolution was passed which declared that a reconciliation with the Chinese Communist Party could be effected only under the following four conditions :

1. Abolition of the separate Army and its incorporation into the united command of the nation's armed forces.
2. Dissolution of the so-called " Chinese Soviet Republic " and similar organisations and unification of government power in the hands of the National Government.
3. Absolute cessation of Communist propaganda and acceptance of the Three People's Principles.
4. Stoppage of class struggle.

The Chinese Communist Party accepted the conditions. In July, 1937, Japan launched her long-planned attack on North China. China rose in self-defence. In accordance with these conditions, the National Government reorganised the Communist troops first into the Eighth Route Army and later into the Eighteenth Group Army and appointed Chu Teh and Peng Teh-huai as Commander and Deputy Commander. The Chinese Communist Party made a declaration to the nation on September 22nd, 1937. The following are the important points in this declaration :

1. In order to safeguard the independence and freedom of the Chinese nation, a War of Resistance shall be proclaimed. Only as a result of such a war can the lost provinces be restored and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country be maintained.
2. The Communist Party is prepared to fight for the full realisation of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles because they answer the present-day needs of China.
3. The policy of insurrection which aims at the overthrow of the Kuomintang political power, the policy of land confiscation, and the policy of Communist propaganda shall be discontinued.
4. With the disappearance of the Chinese Soviet Government, a system of political democracy shall be put into practice, so that the country may be politically unified.
5. The former Chinese Red Army which has been reorganised into the Eighth Route Army (now the Eighteenth Group Army) shall be under the

control of the National Military Council and always ready to be sent to the front.

This declaration can hardly be said to have been translated into action by the Communists during the past few years. Though the Eighteenth Group Army has caused continuous disturbances in North China since 1937, the National Government, with a view to preserving national solidarity in the face of a brutal aggressor, has shown the greatest forbearance and leniency in dealing with the ex-Communist troops. In the case of the New Fourth Army, which was formed of remnants of Communist troops along the lower reaches of the Yangtze River after the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, the Government was constrained to take disciplinary measures in January, 1940, when it became openly defiant of Government orders. The New Fourth Army was dissolved.

At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang in November, 1942, President Chiang Kai-shek made known his views with regard to the Chinese Communist Party. The President said that he still championed a tolerant policy and that the Chinese Communist Party would be treated on the same plane as all other armed forces and civilians of the nation as long as they would, from then on, obey all laws and orders, refrain from disturbing the social order, organise no army of their own, refrain from occupying places by force, not hinder the prosecution of the war, nor undermine national unity, and would, in accordance with their declaration of September 22nd, 1937, in which they expressed their readiness to face the national crisis in co-operation with the rest of the country, obey the order of the Central Government and work for the realisation of the Three People's Principles.

The Communists continued to be one of the serious internal problems of China. In September, 1943, at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Fifty C.E.C. of the Kuomintang, President Chiang Kai-shek declared that first of all we should clearly recognise that the Chinese Communist problem was a purely political problem and should be solved by political means. Such ought to be the guiding principle. The President said, for the Plenary Session in its effort to settle this matter. "If you share my view," the President continued, "we should maintain the policy of leniency and forbearance which we have consistently pursued in dealing with our domestic affairs with the expectation that the Chinese Communist Party will be moved by our sincerity and magnanimity, no matter in what ways they may slander us, or in what manner they may try to create trouble."

Conversations have been carried on since May, 1944, between the representatives of the Central Government and the Communist Party for a solution of the problem, but no firm results have thus far been achieved. The reason for the fruitless conversations was that the Communist demands were continually increasing and changing.

Two documents which sum up the conversations are (1) President Chiang Kai-shek's address before the Preparatory Commission for the Inauguration of Constitutional Government on March 1st, 1945, and (2) Dr. Wang Shih-chieh's*

* Dr. Wang, now Minister of Foreign Affairs, was then Minister of Information.

report on this problem on March 5th, 1945, at the Ministry of Information in Chungking. The full texts of the two speeches are as follows :

PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE INAUGURATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

" You will recall that in 1936 the Government decided to summon a National Assembly on November 12th, 1937, for the inauguration of constitutional government and the termination of the Period of Political Tutelage under the Kuomintang. July 7th, 1937, Japan suddenly made war on us, and the plan had to be shelved. However, the determination of the Kuomintang to realise constitutional government remained as strong as ever. Had it not been for the recommendation of further postponement by the People's Political Council, the National Assembly would have been convened during 1940 in accordance with another Government decision. This year, on the first of January, on behalf of the Government, I announced that the National Assembly will be summoned before the close of the year, unless untoward and unexpected military developments in the meanwhile should intervene.

" The Kuomintang is the historic party of national revolution ; it overthrew the Manchu Dynasty ; it destroyed Yuan Shih-kai who would have been Emperor ; it utterly defeated the militarists that succeeded Yuan Shih-kai ; it brought about national unification ; it achieved the removal of the unequal treaties ; and it led the country in the eight-years-old epic struggle against Japan. It is we who are the party of liberation and progress. In summoning the National Assembly and returning the rule to the people in conformity with the sacred will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang is performing its historic role.

" We must emerge from this war a united nation. Only a united nation can effectively perform the tasks of political and economic reconstruction to raise the lot of our toiling masses, and enable the problems of external relations in a new and changed world to be solved. Before the Japanese invasion we were a united nation. To-day, but for the Communists and their armed forces, we are a united nation. Therefore no independent warlords nor local governments challenge the central authority.

" I have long held the conviction that the solution of the Communist question must be through political means. The Government has laboured to make the settlement a political one. As the public is not well informed on our recent efforts to reach a settlement with the Communists, the time has come for me to clarify the atmosphere.

" As you know, negotiations with the Communists have been a perennial problem for many years. It has been our unvarying experience that no sooner is a demand met than fresh ones are raised. The latest demand of the Communists is that the Government should forthwith liquidate the Kuomintang rule, and surrender all power to a coalition of various parties. The position of the Government is that it is ready to admit other parties, including the Communists, as well as non-party leaders, to participate in the Government,



SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIAL PLAQUE.
GRAYS INN, LONDON.



PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

without, however, the relinquishing by the Kuomintang of its power of ultimate decision and final responsibility until the convocation of the National Assembly. We have even offered to include the Communists and other parties in an organ to be established along the lines of what is known abroad as a 'War Cabinet'. To go beyond this and to yield to the Communist demand would not only place the Government in open contravention of the political programme of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but also create insurmountable practical difficulties for the country.

"During the past eight years the country has withstood all the worst vicissitudes of military reverses and of unbelievable privations and has ridden through the storm for the simple reason that it has been led by a stable and strong government. The war remains to be won and the future is still fraught with perils. If the Government shirks its responsibility and surrenders its power of ultimate decision to a combination of political parties, the result would be unending friction and chaos, leading to a collapse of the central authority. Bear in mind that in such a contingency, unlike in other countries, there exists in our country at present no responsible body representing the people for a government to appeal to.

"I repeat, whether by accident or design the Kuomintang has had the responsibility of leading the country during the turbulent last decade and more. It will return the supreme power to the people through the instrumentality of the National Assembly, and in the meanwhile it will be ready to admit other parties to a share in the Government; but it definitely cannot abdicate to a combination of parties. Such a surrender would not mean returning power to the people.

"We must emerge from the war with a united army. The Communists should not keep a separate army. Here allow me to digress a little. The Chinese Communists' propaganda abroad has tried to justify this private army on the ground that if it becomes incorporated in the national army it will be in danger of being destroyed or discriminated against. Their propaganda also magnifies out of all proportion the actual military strength of the Communists. To you I need hardly say that Government forces have always without exception borne the brunt of Japanese attack and will continue to do so. To-day, with the wholehearted co-operation of our Allies, powerful armies are being equipped and conditioned to assume the offensive. We are synchronising our efforts with those of our Allies in expelling Japan from the Asiatic mainland.

"The Government has not hesitated to meet the issues raised by the Communists squarely. During his recent visit the Communist representative, Mr. Chou En-lai, was told that the Government would be prepared to set up in the Executive Yuan a policy-making body to be known as the War-time Political Council, on which other parties, including the Communists, would have representation. In addition, he was told that the Government would be ready to appoint a commission of three officers to make plans for the incorporation of the Communist forces in the national army, composed of one Government officer, one Communist and one American, provided that the United States Government would agree to allow an American officer to serve. If the United States Government could not agree, some other means of guaranteeing the safety of the Communist forces, and non-discrimination in their treatment, could doubtless be evolved.

" The Government has gone farther. To meet any fear the Communists may have, the Government has expressed its willingness for the duration of the war to place an American general in command of the Communist forces, under my command as Supreme Commander, again if the United States Government could agree to the appointment of an American officer. The Communists have, however, rejected all these offers. If the Communists are sincere in their desire to fight the Japanese alongside us and our Allies, they have indeed been given every opportunity to do so.

" Since the commencement of the latest phase of the negotiations with the Communists in November last year, the Government, mindful of the necessity of avoiding mutual recriminations if parties to a dispute are sincere in their desire for a settlement, have made all efforts to prevent newspaper attacks against the Communists. For this reason only the Communist version of the difficulties is being heard. The Communists have made use of the negotiations to launch a whirlwind campaign of publicity, both at home and abroad, defamatory of the Government and the Kuomintang. At the very moment that the delegates were sitting down to the conference, ridiculous charges were made that the Government was conducting negotiations with the Japanese. I consider it beneath my dignity as Head of the State to answer these charges.

" No one unmindful of the future of our four hundred and fifty-million people and conscious of standing at the bar of history, would wish to plunge the country into a civil war. The Government has shown its readiness and is always ready to confer with the Communists to bring about a real and lasting settlement with them.

" I have explained the Government's position on the Communist problem at length, because to-day that is the main obstacle to unity and constitutional Government.

" I now turn to the concrete measures which the Government proposes to take to realise constitutional government and which I wish to announce briefly:

" 1. The National Assembly to inaugurate constitutional government will be convened on the 12th of November this year (the 80th Anniversary of the birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen), subject to the approval by the Kuomintang Congress which is due to meet in May.

" 2. Upon the inauguration of constitutional government, all political parties will have legal status and enjoy equality. (The Government has offered to give legal recognition to the Communist Party as soon as the latter agrees to incorporate their army and local administration in the National Army and Government. The offer still stands.)

" 3. The next session of the People's Political Council with a larger membership as well as more extensive powers will soon be sitting. The Government will consider with the Council the measures in regard to the convening of the National Assembly, and all related matters.

" I am optimistic of national unification and the future of democratic government in our country. The torrent of public opinion demanding national unity and reconstruction is mounting ever stronger and will soon become an irresistible force. No individual or political party can afford to disregard this

force any longer. Let all of us, regardless of party affiliations, work together for the twin objectives of our peoples -national unity and reconstruction."

A REPORT BY MINISTER WANG SHIH-CHIEH ON THE GOVERNMENT-COMMUNIST NEGOTIATIONS

At the joint Weekly Memorial Service and Monthly Citizens' Meeting on March 5th, 1945, Ministry of Information, Chungking.

" My report to-day will be in the nature of a factual statement and will contain such facts as even Chow En-lai or Lin Tsu-han, were they here to-day, would not be able to deny.

" I shall first say a word about the present position. After nine months' conversation. I regret to say, there is still no agreement. The negotiations have, however, not ceased, nor have they been broken off. The Government has repeatedly expressed its intention to solve the problem through political means. The Communists have publicly suggested that the negotiations have broken down, although they indicate to the Government that they are still willing to continue the negotiations.

" You may ask why is it that there is still no result after nine months' conversation? May it be possible that the Government lacks sincerity? Whether the Government has sincerity or not may be seen from the facts of the negotiation. You can draw your own conclusion. But I cannot tell you whether or not the Communists are sincere, because I don't know what is really in their mind.

" We don't have to study now whether or not the Communists are sincere, or which party has been responsible for the failure of reaching an agreement. We should first ask why there is no result. I can say that the main factor is that the Communist demands are constantly changing and endlessly increasing.

" We arrived in Sian on May 3rd, 1944, to start the conversations with the Communist representative. You will recall that round May 20th our troops suffered some setbacks in Hunan. On June 4th, Lin Tsu-han refused to recognise the minutes of the Sian conversations, though they had been signed by him. During June, July, August and September our forces suffered further setbacks in Hunan. So at the plenary sessions of the People's Political Council, when representatives of the Government and the Communist Party reported the progress of the negotiations, Lin Tsu-han proposed, for the first time, in the conclusion of his report, the forming of a coalition government and a national affairs conference. This had never been presented to the Government before. We heard it for the first time at this meeting.

" Chow En-lai continued the talks in the middle of November. By November 22nd a formula had developed from discussions held among the American Ambassador, General Hurley, Chow En-lai and myself. I asked Chow whether this formula mightn't serve as a basis for further exploration. He said that the Communist Party would continue to fight for its original proposals, but this formula could be taken as a preliminary step towards a solution.

“ Unfortunately the weather was not good enough for Chow to leave for Yen-an on November 23rd. His trip was then delayed for two weeks until December 6th, when he flew to Yen-an. It was most unexpected and a great disappointment to us all when this formula was wholly rejected by the Communists as Chow telegraphed later from Yen-an to Chungking. It may be remembered that by December 6th the enemy had reached as far as Tuyun, in Southern Kweichow, and the entire province seemed then to be in danger.

“ The negotiations may be divided into two periods. The first period extended from May to October last year. Representing the Government were General Chang Chih-chung, Minister of the Political Training Board of the National Military Council, and myself. The Communist representative was Lin Tsu-han. The second period extended from last November till now. In addition to General Chang and myself as Government representatives, Dr. T. V. Soong, Acting President of the Executive Yuan, frequently participated in the conversations. Representing the Communist Party was Chow En-lai. Major-General Patrick Hurley, the American Ambassador, also took part in the conversations on several important occasions.

“ The conversations were first conducted for a week in Sian. During the conversations we recorded the proposals made by Lin Tsu-han, some of which remained as originally proposed while others were revised by Lin himself. The minutes of the conversations were finally sent to Lin for his signature, as we had to take them back with us to Chungking. At that time, Lin requested that we should also sign the minutes. We told him that these were Communist proposals and there was no need for the Government representatives to countersign them. Lin did not insist. The contents of these proposals have been published in the newspapers. There was only one point that marked a considerable divergence between the Government and the Communists: that is, the Communists insisted that their troops should remain under their own command where they would be needed to continue the resistance and should not even be transferred to other areas.

“ We returned to Chungking and submitted the Communist proposals to the Central Government. On June 5th the Central Government made a proposal according to which the Government accepted virtually eighty per cent. of the Communist demands. But on June 10th Yen-an instructed Lin Tsu-han to make some fresh demands. Immediately afterwards the People's Political Council met, and at its meetings Lin proposed some new slogans from the platform. At that time the P.P.C. was very anxious to hasten the solution of the problem and had therefore organised an inspection party consisting of five non-partisan P.P.C. members, to proceed to Yen-an within one month after the P.P.C. session. The party was anxious to leave for Yen-an, but gave up its plan owing to the propaganda offensive launched by Yen-an.

“ In November General Hurley, then President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in China, expressed his willingness to participate in the conversations so as to help solve the problem. There were two reasons for his wanting to take part in the conversations. First, a united China would possess more strength in international affairs, beneficial not only to China herself but also to the United States. Second, American forces would soon land along the China coast and their military operations would be greatly handicapped if they

ould encounter Chinese Communist troops in the areas where they landed and the Communists failed to obey orders from the Central Government. o General Hurley was willing to offer whatever assistance he could.

“ At that time the Communists invited General Hurley to visit Yen-an. With the Central Government’s agreement General Hurley went to Yen-an early 1 November and had a talk with Mao Tse-tung lasting several consecutive days. General Hurley returned with Mao’s five proposals, which were :

“ 1. The two parties should co-operate in armed resistance to Japan.

“ 2. A coalition government should be formed and a United Command should be organised. The Communist troops would take orders from this United Command.

“ 3. The freedom of the people should be guaranteed.

“ 4. All anti-Japanese forces should be given due recognition.

“ 5. A legal status should be granted to the Communist Party and other political parties.

“ After deliberation, the Government proposed the following three points as a reply :—

“ 1. All troops would be given official recognition after reorganisation by the Central Government.

“ 2. The Communist Party would be allowed to send one representative to join the National Military Council, and

“ 3. The Communist Party would be granted legal status after its troops had been reorganised by the Central Government.

“ When we handed the Government reply to Chow En-lai, he asked why the other political parties and groups were not allowed to participate in the Government. Our reply was : For the growth and realisation of democracy for the Chinese people the Kuomintang has always had a definite plan according to Dr. Sun Yat-sen. May we ask whether the Kuomintang is not stepping forward toward democracy since it initiated the Period of Political Tutelage ? We should take as our guiding principles the *Fundamentals of National Reconstruction*, as formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The Government has no desire to deviate from Dr. Sun’s principles. Moreover, there would be no question if a Government formed by the various parties could carry on without any serious differences. If, however, differences and disputes should arise among the parties, have we got a structure or a stable framework, or a force serving as a stabilising and shock-absorbing machinery, or as a final authority ? The reason why in a democratic country a coalition government can be formed is that above everything there is a congress representing the will and opinions of the people. The congress will be the final authority if difficulties should prove insurmountable. Now we have not that structure. The Government would be turned into chaos and civil wars might occur before the right and wrong could be clarified and settled. The Kuomintang is responsible to the nation and will return the political power to the people themselves and will not be so irresponsible as to hand over the political power to any other groups and thus create an irretrievable situation’

" We then asked Chow En-lai whether Yen-an would accept the three-point proposal of the Central Government. Chow said that the Communist Party would continue to struggle for the realisation of its five-point proposal, but that the Central Government's three-point proposal might be taken as a preliminary settlement. The American Ambassador, upon hearing this, was very much pleased and invited all of us to dinner that day. At the party, he toasted China's unity and Chow responded. When the Ambassador wanted to shake hands with me as a congratulatory gesture, I told him to wait until Chow En-lai had returned from Yen-an. I had had experience with the Communists in other negotiations.

" Things turned out as I had suspected. After Chow returned to Yen-an, the Communist reply came saying that the proposals were not acceptable because the Central Government lacked sincerity. Ambassador Hurley then telegraphed Yen-an, inviting Chow En-lai to come to Chungking to continue the conversations. Chow replied that there were a number of points that should be clarified before he could come to Chungking to continue the talks. They were:—

" 1. Withdrawal of Central Government troops now blockading the Border Area.

" 2. Release of political prisoners.

" 3. Abolition of all laws and decrees restricting the freedom of the people, and

" 4. Abolition of the Special Service organisations.

" These four points have been discussed by us with Chow En-lai and Ambassador Hurley. The truth is:

" 1. The Communists have spread much propaganda about the so-called blockade. According to General Chen Cheng, Minister of War, there are only six divisions of Central Government troops around the Border Area, not counting, of course, those troops stationed along the Yellow River whose duty it is to fight the enemy. But how many troops have the Communists massed against the Central Government? According to the Liaison Staff Officer detailed by the Central Government to Yen-an, there are at least from 120,000 to 150,000 troops. I once mentioned this figure to Chow En-lai. He did not deny it but said that he had not made any investigation.

" 2. The Communists are not qualified to talk about the release of political prisoners. They should know very well how many Kuomintang members have been murdered and imprisoned by them, not to mention other political prisoners.

" 3. Concerning the freedom of the people, we have heard that a Communist Party member even has to secure permission from the Communist Central Committee if he wants to get married. I asked Chow En-lai whether this is true. He said the Communists have that tradition.

" 4. What is the so-called Special Service? Is it not secret police? During wartime, which country does not have secret police? Ambassador Hurley said he would be the first person to object if any one wanted to do away with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's secret police.

“ Because these demands were unreasonable, we did not want to submit them to the Central Government. We again requested Ambassador Hurley to ask Chow to come. Chow finally came. The Central Government then made further concessions which were:

“ 1. The Executive Yuan would establish a Wartime Political Council, to be composed of representatives of all political parties and groups.

“ 2. A Committee of Three would be organised, consisting of one representative of the Central Government, one from the Communist Party and one American army officer, to consider the reorganisation of the Communist troops and the question of supply.

“ 3. A separate command would be set up for the Communist troops, after their reorganisation, with an American army officer as Commander-in-Chief and one officer each from the Central Government and the Communists as deputy commanders.

“ The Communists rejected these proposals. They said that it would be useless to establish a Wartime Political Council, which, according to them, possesses no final authority. This statement is irrational. No political organ alone in any democratic country can have direct ‘ final authority ’ so that the various departments may check and co-operate with each other. Only in a totalitarian government can one single organ or person make all the final decisions.

“ The Communists did not give any concrete reasons for their refusal of the other two proposals.

“ But Chow En-lai declared that the purpose of his trip this time was to make it possible to call a conference of representatives of various political parties and groups. The function of this conference was to ally the Kuomintang, the Communist Party, and the Democratic League to conclude the Kuomintang rule and to discuss in detail the co-operation of the three parties.

“ The Central Government expressed its willingness to consider this, but called Chow’s attention to the following :

“ 1. Since the so-called conference of various political parties and groups should aim at soliciting opinions of the entire nation, why does it only include three parties?

“ 2. The leaders of the various parties and groups would not be able to represent the entire people. The conference should also include non-partisan leaders of the people.

“ 3. The name of the conference of various parties and groups is not appropriate and should be changed.

“ At that time, Chow accepted our suggestions and was willing to revise his proposal. We then told Chow in all sincerity that since this conference will aim at the settlement of the issue, neither side should take this opportunity to indulge in propaganda and mutual attack. Chow completely agreed with our suggestion.

" After these principles had been fixed, we reached an agreement with Chow that we were both to write down our proposals before the conference was called in order to work out a final proposal. We were greatly surprised when Chow produced another proposal which was exactly the same as his original one proposing the convention of the three political parties. He said that this proposal might be regarded as the Government's proposal. I said that the Government had never made any such proposal, but that it was initiated by the Communists and later revised by the Central Government. For the purpose of securing an early solution of the question, we told Chow that we could regard the amended proposal we made as the Government proposal, which was later conveyed to Yen-an.

" After four or five days, a reply from Yen-an said that it should be decided first whether the Kuomintang was willing to end its Party rule. The talk drifted farther and farther away from its original point, so Chow En-lai had to go back to Yen-an again. A week ago, a representative from the Chungking office of the Communist Party came to me and said that a formal reply would soon come from Yen-an. This is how matters now stand.

" Now, my colleagues, we are in a position to answer the question why there is no result after nine months' negotiations. There are three factors. First, the Communist demands have been continuously changing and increasing. Second, the Communists have taken the negotiations as a political war, lacking basically the spirit of mutual adjustment. Third, the Communists entered into the negotiations not for the sake of negotiation, but for the sake of propaganda.

" Chow En-lai had demanded that Communist representatives should be sent to the San Francisco Conference. My reply then was : there was no reason for you to make that demand, if you had accepted the Government's invitation to participate in the Government, you would not have needed to fear that you would not be represented at the San Francisco Conference. If you now send your representatives to the conference, it would expose the ugly state of two governments existing simultaneously in China, since the San Francisco Conference is not a conference of political parties but of nations.

" Having participated in the Government-Communist negotiations, Ambassador Hurley has now been able to realize that the Chinese government is sincere in its efforts to solve the Communist problem through political means and that the Communists are not easy to deal with. Since the American Ambassador has this understanding, it may be assumed that the American Government must have full knowledge of his impression.

" Our Government has decided to abide by the following two principles concerning the Communist question :

" 1. We will continue our effort to secure a settlement by political means, which we have repeatedly proclaimed and to which we mean to stick.

" 2. We should strive to create favourable circumstances for the solution of the problem through political means. To create such circumstances, we should increase our political and military strength. If this could be done, the Communists would come to terms with us even though they might be unwilling to do so.

“ Such is the brief history of the origin and growth of the political party which has been the main controlling force in China since 1928. It was a party founded by men who secretly plotted in the last years of the Manchu Regime to restore the Government to the rule of the Chinese themselves and to establish for them a Republican form of government.

“ Many of the earlier members of the Revolutionary Movement never lived to witness the first stages of success. In the long struggle for freedom some deserted the cause and joined up with the reactionary forces, while others quietly relapsed into the comfort and safety of normal professions when hope dimmed into uncertainty. But always there was a group of unswerving adherents to Dr. Sun, who never for a moment lost faith and who was fond of repeating to his closest friends that it might take more than three generations to achieve the aim of the Revolution, of which he himself was but one of the pathfinders. He was not a politician and often suffered from his insistence on principles rather than on quick successes by methods of expediency.

“ As has been made clear in this account, it was never the aim of the Kuomintang to develop a one-party rule in China, nor has it been the policy of the Party to entrench itself in the Government permanently to the exclusion of any other political party. The platform of the Kuomintang calls for a Period of Political Tutelage, a programme which has been carried out and this period is coming to an end on November 12th this year. The Kuomintang overthrew the Manchu Regime and established the Republic, ended warlordism, achieved the widest unity since the establishment of the Republic in 1911, faced the steady march of Japanese aggression and finally led the nation in arms against the aggressors. Since 1928 it has had very little time indeed in which to achieve and maintain much constructive work, but in spite of all the internal difficulties of disunity and war it has faced aggression defiantly and kept the nation at war ; it has taken gradual steps towards the building of democratic institutions, and achieved progress, as far as war-time conditions permitted, in popular education, in social organization and in agrarian reform.”

(3) *Since 1945*

Since then, the Kuomintang has been making every possible effort to conclude the Period of Political Tutelage and to initiate a constitutional government. The main event has been the institution of renewed negotiations between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party, the two largest parties in China, for the settlement of a long-drawn-out dispute. So far a satisfactory solution has not been found.

Immediately after the Japanese surrender in August, 1945, President Chiang Kai-shek extended an invitation to Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Communist Party, to come to Chungking, the war-time capital of China, to discuss internal and international affairs. Mr. Mao arrived in Chungking towards the end of August and had a series of talks with the President. Conversations between the two leaders, as well as between other Government and Communist negotiators, resulted in the formation of the Political Consultative Council in January, 1946. The Political Consultative Council was composed of representatives not only of the Kuomintang and the Communist parties, but also of other political groups, such as the Democratic League and the Young China Party, as well as independents.

The Political Consultative Council, after long discussion, reached a general political agreement, providing for the formation of a coalition government and the convocation of the National Assembly, as preliminary steps towards constitutionalism. A summary of the agreement follows:

"An interim Coalition Administration is to be formed composed of representatives from the various political parties and prominent non-party personalities. The State Council becomes the supreme policy-making organ. It will be composed of forty members, half of whom will be Kuomintang representatives and the remainder selected from the other political parties and non-party nominees. (The Parties are to nominate their own candidates for the Council.) Decisions will be arrived at by a majority vote except when a resolution involves changes in administration, in which case it must be passed by a two-thirds majority, and a three-fifths majority will be needed to override the Presidential veto.

"A general policy statement to guide the new Coalition Government states that all national forces will unite under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek in order to construct a unified, independent and democratic China according to the principles of San Min Chu I. The personal freedom and liberty of the individual, habeas corpus, and the political, social, educational and economic equality of women, are guaranteed.

"A National Army with allegiance to the State is to be created and it will be divorced from any party or political affiliations. No soldier on active service will be permitted to serve concurrently as a civil official. The National Military Council is to be reorganized into a Ministry of National Defence and the Minister need not necessarily be a soldier. Government forces are to be reduced within six months to 90 divisions and a substantial cut is also to be made in the number of Communist troops prior to their fusion with the National Army. At a later stage it is intended to reorganize every soldier under arms into a peace-time Army of 50 to 60 divisions.

"The draft Constitution of 1936 is to be revised and a special committee has been set up for this purpose. It will have a membership of 25, five representatives from each of the five major groups composing the P.C.C. In addition ten technical experts will be invited to take part in these deliberations. The scheme of revision will take into account the decisions as to the general structure of Government agreed upon by the P.C.C.

"The Legislative Yuan, a popularly elected body, will be the supreme law-drafting authority. The Control Yuan, to be elected by provincial assemblies and bodies representing the border peoples, will be responsible for the censure and impeachment of officials, and the auditing of the national accounts. The Judicial Yuan will supervise the appointment of the Supreme Court. Justices will be nominated by the President with the consent of the Control Yuan. The functions of the Examination Yuan will be mainly the examination of candidates for the Civil Service. Its members will have no party affiliations and will be nominated by the President.

"The Executive Yuan will be the executive administrative organ. The President of the National Government may promulgate emergency decrees according to law with the assent of the Executive Yuan, but such action must be reported to the Legislative Yuan within one month.

" The National Assembly is to be convened on May 5th, and its work confined to the adoption of the new draft Constitution. The right of the 1,200 national delegates already selected to attend the Assembly has been confirmed. Seven hundred additional delegates (220 Kuomintang, 190 Communist, 120 Democratic League, 100 Young China Party and 70 non-party representatives) are to be appointed and the North-eastern Provinces and Taiwan are to have their representation increased by 150. The total number of delegates to the National Assembly will, therefore, be 2,050.

" The adoption of the new Constitution will require a two-thirds majority. A second National Assembly is to be called within six months of the adoption of this Constitution, and from it China's first popularly elected Government will be formed."

In the meantime, a Military Committee of Three worked on the organisation of the Army and the nationalisation of the Communist forces, and agreement was reached in February, 1946. The agreement provides for a peace-time army of 108 divisions within twelve months, to be further reduced to sixty divisions six months later. Out of 108 divisions to be formed within twelve months after the signing of the agreement eighteen will be composed of Communist forces and each division will consist of not more than 14,000 men. Within this period, therefore, the Government is to demobilise all units in excess of 90 divisions and the Communists will demobilise all units in excess of 18 divisions. In the second stage of demobilisation, the Government forces will be further reduced to 50 divisions and the Communist forces to 10 divisions. The total strength of the National Army will then be 60 divisions, totalling approximately 840,000 officers and men. The President of the Republic of China remains Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

An optimistic atmosphere prevailed throughout the country after the Political Consultative Council reached final agreement, which was unanimously approved by the second plenary session of the 6th Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, in March, 1946. The Central Executive Committee pledged complete observance and support of the Political Consultative Council agreement and hoped that the National Assembly would meet in May, as scheduled, thus ending the period of political tutelage.

While the negotiations were going on, the Communists started attacks on Government positions in many parts of the country, notably North China and in the North-eastern Provinces, where the Communist forces infiltrated before the Government took over after the Japanese surrender. Through the efforts of General George Marshall, President Truman's special envoy in China, the Government and the Communists finally concluded a truce agreement on 10th January, 1946, just before the opening of the first session of the Political Consultative Council. But the Communists have observed neither the political nor the military agreements, and their armed forces have become a constant menace to peace and order and to communications. Realising that civil war would bring about the total collapse of the national economy as well as increased suffering to the people, the Government has been most tolerant and is not willing to employ methods other than political for a settlement of the whole issue. The continually increasing demands made by the Communists have passed all reasonable bounds and on 10th August, 1946, General George Marshall and Dr. Leighton Stuart, American Ambassador to China, issued a joint statement showing that it appeared impossible for the two parties to reach a settlement

After the issuance of the statement, however, negotiations between the Government and the Communists, with General Marshall acting as mediator, still continued. The Government and the leaders of the Kuomintang still have not abandoned their efforts in seeking a settlement through political means. President Chiang Kai-shek, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Japanese surrender, issued a statement to the people reiterating his policies concerning the Communist problem and the political situation as a whole. His statement summarises the present political situation in China as the following excerpt shows :—

“ Exactly one year ago to-day Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allied Powers. When the war ended I realized that peace and unity would have to be established in the country before the people could live and produce, and before reconversion and reconstruction could proceed. One year passed, but national difficulties have not been lessened nor has the suffering of the people been alleviated.

“ The principal objective after victory is the re-establishment of peace conditions. In the past year the Government has moved from Chungking to Nanking. War-time legislation restricting civil liberties has been amended or removed. The Army has been reorganized according to plan and thousands of officers have retired from active service. Universities in the interior are moving back to their original homes. Ruined and broken cities and towns have been repaired and damaged dykes rebuilt. This much we have accomplished through hardship and industry during the past year.

“ We much regret, however, the slow progress made in rehabilitation. The most critical situation facing the country is the stoppage of production, economic dislocation and the high cost of living. The prime cause of all this is the disruption of communications, and the lack of shipping facilities. Trunk railway lines—the Peiping-Hankow, Tientsin-Pukow, Kiaochow-Tsinan, and the Lunghai—have been repeatedly destroyed and disrupted. Thus, industrial centres lack raw materials and agricultural and mineral products have no markets. While cargoes clog the commercial ports there is a serious shortage of commodities and capital goods in the interior. Furthermore, there are a number of localities occupied by the Communists who have established their own economic units. They have enforced food blockades, circulated their own currency and lived off the people in these areas, and controlled the livelihood of the people in adjacent areas. This state of affairs has split the national economy and hampered price control, currency deflation and reconstruction as a whole.

“ These difficulties continue due to the disruption of peace and order, and our inability so far to reach a satisfactory settlement of political differences. When the war ended the Government decided on a policy of ‘ national unity ’ and ‘ political democracy. ’ It hoped that through political measures Party friction would be eliminated. The Communists are not an ordinary Party with a democratic system. They are a Party with an independent military force and an independent administrative system. The Party taxes people in the area it occupies and remains out of the realm of the National Government.

Nevertheless, the Government has exerted great effort in the hope that the Communists would give up their military occupation of territory and transform themselves into a peaceful law-abiding political Party following the democratic road to reconstruction. We must not permit another State to exist within the State, nor allow a private army to operate independently of the National Army. This is the main obstacle to a settlement of the present situation and its removal is the minimum demand of the Government.

"In the past year the Government took the first step in reopening negotiations with the Communists. Then, the Political Consultative Council, on which all political elements were represented, reached five agreements. With the assistance of General Marshall an agreement was signed ending all hostilities and restoring communications. A plan was also made for the reorganization of the Army and the integration of the Communist forces into a National Army.

"China clearly cannot afford another war. However, no Government in the world can shirk the responsibility of preserving order and protecting the lives of the people. Its policy is, therefore, sixfold : (1) To conclude the period of political tutelage and institute a constitutional regime without delay. To this end the National Assembly will definitely be held as scheduled on November 12th ; (2) to abide by the agreements reached by the Political Consultative Council ; (3) to enlarge the political basis of the Administration by including members of all Parties and independents and put into effect the programme of peaceful reconstruction as adopted by the P.C.C. ; (4) to hold to the 10th January Truce Agreement, only demanding that the Communists should withdraw from areas where peace is threatened and communications interrupted ; (5) to continue to use political means to settle political differences ; (6) to give security to the people and protection to property.

"Looking over the past year, had we not suffered domestic strife, and had a political Party with armed forces not insisted on expanding their influence, our country would be in a high and respected position, and our people would enjoy peace and prosperity. If the Communists had carried out the three agreements reached last January to cease hostilities, to restore communications and to integrate their forces into a National Army, and appointed representatives to participate in the Government and attend the National Assembly, we could by now have instituted constitutional government. I earnestly hope that the Communist Party, reflecting on these facts, will come to see reason.

"To-day, our one demand is that the Communists should change their policy of seizing power by military force and transform themselves into a peaceful Party. We want them to help us win the peace. Government officials for their part must review their own mistakes and shortcomings and exert every effort to fulfil their duties. Furthermore, the people must have faith, patience and zeal. They must be able to differentiate between right and wrong, truth and falsehood.

"I have dedicated myself to the revolutionary cause of my country and my people. I will not let the fruits of victory be lost in a day. I will not waver in my determination to establish a peaceful, unified and democratic nation."

(4) The Present Position.

The National Government returned from Chungking to Nanking in May, 1946, prepared to convene the National Assembly as arranged through the Political Consultative Council. But the Communists changed their minds again

and refused to nominate their delegates either to the Assembly or to the State Council of the National Government. Their demand was then for more seats in the State Council, so that they could obtain a veto power in conjunction with the Democratic League. The Assembly had to be postponed again; this time to November, 1946. By November, however, no further progress had been made. The Government had no alternative but to hold the Assembly without the Communists.

The Assembly met on November 15th, and was attended by delegates of the Kuomintang, the Young China Party, the Social Democratic Party, together with the independents. The main business of the Assembly was to adopt the Constitution, the draft of which was revised in accordance with the resolutions of the Political Consultative Council.

The new Constitution is the subject of an authoritative article written by Dr. Wang Chung-hui, a jurist of world renown and a former Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. The article gives the main features of the Constitution as follows:

“(1) *Equality of all citizens before law, irrespective of sex, religion, race, class or party affiliation.* There is provision for universal suffrage and secret ballot; on attaining the age of twenty, any man or woman can enjoy the right to vote. In order to ensure adequate feminine representation in the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan, a quota of women members in each of these two bodies will, moreover, be fixed by law.

“(2) *Guarantee of individual liberties.* Practically all the personal liberties and rights that can be found in modern bills of rights, including *habeas corpus*, are guaranteed by the new Constitution. In addition, it recognises the principle of responsibility of the State for any illegal acts which may be committed by public officers in their official capacity.

“(3) *The National Assembly.* The National Assembly is the sovereign organ of the people. Its members are elected mainly on the basis of territorial and professional representation. They serve for a term of six years, subject, however, in case of serious lapses, to recall or suspension by the Assembly itself. The Assembly elects the President and Vice-President of the Republic and has the right to recall or suspend either or both of them. It is vested with the power to amend the Constitution. Eventually it will also exercise the rights of initiative and referendum in national legislation.

“(4) *The Presidency.* The President is elected for a term of six years and can be re-elected for a second term only. With the concurrence of the Legislative Yuan, he appoints the President of the Executive Yuan (Premier). On the Premier's recommendation he appoints Ministers with or without portfolios. Generally speaking, the President possesses powers and exercises functions which normally belong to the chief executive.

“(5) *The five branches of the Government.* The Executive Yuan is made up of a Premier, a Deputy Premier, the heads of the various component Ministries and Commissions and a certain number of Ministers without portfolios. The Legislative Yuan is of a single chamber, whose members are elected mainly on the basis of territorial and professional representation for a term of three years. They are eligible for re-election, though also subject to recall or suspension before their term expires. The Judicial Yuan is the highest court of justice in the land. Its President and Judges are

appointed by the President of the Republic with the concurrence of the Control Yuan. The Examination Yuan has charge of examinations for the civil service and other related matters. Its members are appointed by the President, likewise with the concurrence of the Control Yuan. As to the Control Yuan, its main functions are supervision and, if necessary, impeachment of the higher public functionaries, auditing and approval of the appointments of certain high officials. Its members are elected by the Provincial Assemblies for a term of six years.

“(6) *Relationship between the Executive and Legislative Yuan.* The Executive Yuan is responsible to the Legislative Yuan in matters of major policy, legislation, budget, and conclusion of treaties. In case of differences of opinion between the two Yuan, the Executive Yuan may, with the approval of the President of the Republic, veto any resolution of the Legislative Yuan. If, however, the Legislative Yuan overrides the veto with a two-thirds vote, the Premier has either to abide by the resolution or to resign. Abiding by such a two-thirds vote is one of the characteristics of the Presidential system. A modification introduced in the present Constitution is that there is a Premier to face the legislature. The Premier may, instead of yielding to the will of the legislature with which he disagrees, choose to resign, in which case he assumes responsibility as under the Parliamentary system. In a word, it is a mixed Presidential and Parliamentary type of Government which the new Constitution provides.

“(7) *Division of powers between the Central and Provincial Governments.* The powers of both the Central Government and the Provincial Government are defined by specific enumeration. Powers not yet so defined will be regarded as belonging to the one or the other according as they are or are not national in character. Any doubt on this point is to be referred to the Legislative Yuan which will determine where any particular power should belong.

“(8) *Local self-government.* The province and the district are respectively large and small units of local self-government. In each there will be a popular assembly. The Provincial Governor or the District Magistrate is elected by the people. Any province may adopt a provincial self-government law. In district government the people may exercise the rights of election and recall (of officials), and initiative and referendum (in legislation). These and other provisions for self-government are to be put into practice in accordance with the ‘General Principles of Provincial and District Self-Government’ to be determined by law.

“(9) *Fundamental national policies.* The new Constitution contains a special chapter on fundamental national policies which is divided into five sections, covering national defence, foreign relations, national economy, social security, and education and culture. The maintenance of national security and world peace is to be the aim of national defence. Emphasis is also laid on the observance of treaty obligations and support of the United Nations Charter. Other fundamental policies include an equitable distribution of land and control of capital; protection and limitation of private property; taxation of unearned income; Government management of public utilities and enterprises of a monopolistic nature; an irreducible minimum (in percentage) of national and local budgets for educational, cultural and scientific purposes; provision of suitable work for able-bodied

citizens ; special protection of female and child labour ; and the establishment of a social insurance system.

“(10) *Interpretation of the Constitution*. The power to interpret the Constitution is vested in the Judicial Yuan by which any law, whether national or local, may be declared unconstitutional.”

The situation up to now has been summarized in two statements issued by the then Minister of Information, Mr. Peng Hsueh-pei, on January 20th and 29th, 1947, respectively. In his first statement, the Minister gave a brief review of the negotiations and then analysed the reasons for the failure. He said :

“ The Government and Kuomintang, especially in the resolution of the Second Plenary Session of the Sixth C.E.C., repeatedly pledged support to the P.C.C. resolutions and expressed their willingness to implement them in co-operation with the other political parties and independents. The failure of realization of the P.C.C. resolutions is due to the following factors :

“ First, according to the Sino-Soviet Treaty, the National Government should take over the administration in the Nine North-eastern Provinces (Manchuria). When the Soviet troops began withdrawing, Communist troops obstructed in various ways the take-over work of the National Army. In the middle of March last year the Communists occupied various places already taken over by the Government forces in Liaopei and attacked Szepingkai, Harbin and Tsitsihar. In order to fulfil its treaty obligations and assert its rights to recover sovereignty over the North-east, the Government on March 27th reached an agreement with the Communists for sending truce field teams to the North-east. Unfortunately, nothing was achieved despite the efforts of the field teams under the Executive Headquarters, thus the North-east remains in chaotic condition. The National Assembly scheduled by the P.C.C. to convene on May 5th had to be postponed.

“ Second, since the Government returned to Nanking in May, 1946, conflicts in the North-east were further intensified and communications in North China continued to be disrupted. The Government jointly with the Communists issued a cease-fire order for fifteen days, during which it hoped to put a full stop to the hostilities in the North-east, to restore communication lines throughout the country and to implement the army reorganisation plan. On all these three points, the Government and the Communist Party had almost reached agreement. But though the deadline of the truce period was postponed three times, the Communists intensified their attack during the interval, capturing Tehchow and Taian and attacking Tatung, Tsinan and the outer rim of Tsingtao. Again nothing was achieved.

“ Third, before the National Assembly was convoked, in view of the confused domestic conditions and the countrywide demand for peace and especially the sincerity and earnest desire of the various political parties and independents for the early termination of hostilities, the Government on October 16th proposed to the Communists an eight-point peace programme, in the hope that another cease-fire order be issued and the National Assembly be called as scheduled to enact a Constitution. But in spite of the strenuous mediatory efforts of the minority parties, and despite the Government's intention to make concessions, the Communists stood adamant in their opposition to the compromise suggestions and demanded further postponement of the National Assembly. A deadlock was thus reached.”

After the adjournment of the National Assembly, the Government, with the date set for the enforcement of the Constitution on December 25th, 1947, made further efforts for the resumption of peace talks. The Government informed the Communist Party of its willingness to send a representative to Yen-an to carry on the conversations. But the Communists insisted on the restoration of troop dispositions as on January 13th, 1946, and on the annulment of the Constitution adopted by the National Assembly as essential preliminaries. The demand was simply impossible to meet.

As to the Constitution, the Minister said in his first statement that the National Assembly consisted of district, occupational and racial representatives and delegates from various political parties, in accordance with the resolutions of the Political Consultative Council. "The Assembly," he emphasised, "was by no means a Kuomintang-dominated assembly. Moreover, the Constitution adopted by the Assembly embodies the very principles laid down by the Communist Party and the other parties represented in the P.C.C. and in the Draft Constitution Reviewing Committee. Therefore, there should not be any reason for the Communists to object to the Constitution."

The Government's offer for resumption of the negotiations was flatly rejected by the Communists. The Minister said in his second statement:

"Now, the Communists have formally refused all peace negotiations and insisted upon the Government's acceptance of their dictates, namely, the restoration of the military positions of January 13th, 1946, and the abolition of the Constitution. This is equivalent to putting both the National Government and the National Assembly under the yoke of the Communist Party and subjecting them to the orders of the Communists. What would the Chinese Republic be like, and what would be left of the rights of the people?

"During the one-year period after the P.C.C. and the Committee of Three, the Government has spared no efforts in inviting the Communists and the minority parties to join the Government. All such endeavours entreating an understanding with the Communists have been in vain.

"Since the Communists have taken such an obdurate stand, the only course at present is for the Government to carry out its fixed policy of political democratisation. We hope that all party leaders as well as independents will participate in the Government in accordance with their consistent patriotic attitude in order to expedite the preparation and scheduled realization of constitutional rule. We also hope that all will co-operate as one man in the gigantic task of national reconstruction, restoration of a balanced economy and improvement of the people's livelihood."

Such is the present position. Pending the enforcement of the Constitution in December, 1947, the Kuomintang has invited all other political parties to form a Coalition Government in preparation for the forthcoming General Election. In April, 1947, the Coalition Government was born with the formation of the new State Council of the National Government as the highest organ of political direction. It is composed of representatives of the Kuomintang, the Young China Party, the Social Democrats, and the independents. The Communist Party and the Democratic League failed to respond, but seats are reserved for them in the State Council. The Executive Yuan (Cabinet) was also re-organized with members of other parties and independents participating.

In the meantime, the Communists are carrying on offensive attacks on Government troops, who have been compelled to counter-attack, resulting in the capture of Yen-an, the Communist Headquarters, on March 19th, 1947.

The attitude of the Kuomintang and the Government towards the Communists, in spite of their rebellious activities, remains unchanged. The door is still open if the Communists choose to co-operate. The problem remains a political one and will be dealt with by political means. A paragraph from President Chiang Kai-shek's 1947 New Year Message may here be quoted in conclusion. He said:

" Now that the Constitution has been promulgated, it is the intention of all concerned to broaden the basis of the Government. Members of various parties and independents will assist in carrying out a programme of peaceful national reconstruction. Although the Communists refused to participate in the National Assembly, the Government will stick to the principle of solving political problems by political means. If there is any chance for a political solution, the Government will not let it slip. It only hopes that the Communists will sincerely follow the programme for the cessation of hostilities, restoration of communications and reorganisation and integration of the armed forces. It also hopes that they will no longer try to seize political power by force. The Government will never close the door to peace negotiations. It will not procrastinate about any work for which it is responsible, such as promotion of constitutional democracy, completion of rehabilitation, advancing reconstruction and the alleviation of the people's suffering."

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Section IV

AGRICULTURE

FOREWORD

We are fortunate in that a recognised authority on Chinese agriculture, now occupied in research in this country, was able to write this pamphlet for us. Y. L. Wu is particularly well qualified to give a general view of this predominantly important subject.

We have added a select bibliography as a guide for those who wish to pursue more detailed studies of Chinese Agriculture.

NEVILLE WHYMANT.

Chinese M.o.I., London,

December, 1945.

Section IV

AGRICULTURE

I. INTRODUCTION

SOME EIGHTY PER CENT. OF THE CHINESE POPULATION LIVE ON THE LAND. THE economic problem of China is, therefore, to a large extent an agrarian one. This is not to say that the agrarian problem is the only thorny impediment to China's post-war reconstruction. But it is certainly one of the major factors, a thorough understanding of which is essential for the correct evaluation of the difficulties ahead.

However, it is not only the economic aspect of the agrarian problem that is interesting. Agriculture is more than a mode of earning one's living. It is also a way of life. Just as estate farming on a large scale tends to produce the breed of country gentlemen, so has the daily toil of the Chinese peasants its effect on the general outlook of the people. Constant uncertainty and frequent frustration as a result of the whims of nature and the evil genius of man leave their mark on the mind and body of the peasants. Some may revolt against the oppression of a combination of unfavourable circumstances, while others resign themselves to the apparently irresistible force of fate. The evolution of Chinese society goes on amid this interplay of forces. How can the conservative element be spurred on? How can the energy and initiative of the radical and adventurous minds be canalised into a constructive path instead of heading for sheer destruction? One cannot over-emphasise the importance of these questions. For our ability to save Chinese civilisation might very well depend upon our knowing the correct answers. As the fate of 450 million people concerns the entire human race, these are also questions which should command general interest. Those especially who have a particular interest in Chinese affairs will feel the need of gaining an insight into them.

It is often said that the farmer is a wise animal, because he lives close to the earth. Out of every hundred Chinese, eighty satisfy the last condition. Is it possible to derive wisdom from them? It seems to us that even if they be wise, they must first of all be given the opportunity of propagating their wisdom. They must be able to free themselves from the effects of ignorance, disease and, above all, poverty, which is the fountain head of all backwardness. This again brings us back to our old problems.

We shall begin with a short survey of the physical and natural factors that determine the general distribution of crops. We shall then discuss the state of technological knowledge *in senso extenso* possessed by the peasants and the many possible improvements on the various types of equipment used. As, once the technique is given, what and how much will be produced, how the produce will be distributed, and what the effects will be, are all dependent upon existing economic institutions and other economic forces, we shall then have to

analyse the various factors underlying the prevailing conditions of Chinese agriculture. Finally, we shall review the social and political implications of all the factors discussed and bring them into a wider historical context.

II. CROPS AND NATURAL CONDITIONS

The amount of rainfall, the range of temperature and the nature of the soils are the three major physical factors that determine the geographical distribution of the types of farming and the crop regions. On the plateaux and steppe lands, where the growing seasons are short and the average temperature is rather low and the rainfall scanty, grazing on natural grass is the predominant type of agriculture. This type of agriculture is found in Outer Mongolia, West Heilungkiang, the northern part of Jehol and Chahar, the northern part of Suiyuan, the northern and western parts of Ningsia, Sinkiang, the western part of Sikang and Tibet. In other words, this type of agriculture is concentrated in a belt stretching from the north-eastern part of China to the west of China, after traversing the extreme north and north-west. Arable farming in this belt is concentrated in small areas where the natural conditions are more favourable in consequence of a combination of ameliorating local conditions.

Inside this frontier belt arable farming is possible in most places. Four natural regions can be distinguished in this connection; namely, the spring wheat region, the winter wheat region, the wheat and rice region, and the rice region.

Winter temperature in the spring wheat region is very low. Consequently, sowing must be done in the spring or early summer. One crop a year is the rule, and spring wheat is the main crop. This region covers Kirin, Liaoning, the eastern part of Heilungkiang, those parts of Jehol, Chahar and Suiyuan which are outside the natural grass region (viz., the south and the east), the northern and western parts of Ningsia, the north of Shansi and Shensi, the eastern part of Chinghai, the north-west of Szechwan and Yunnan, and the south and the east of Sikang.

Other crops in this area include barley, oats, millet, peas, beans, hemp, flax and *kaoliang* (Sorghum). Apart from these crops, the raising of livestock is also an important industry, although the reason for this is probably to be sought in economic conditions rather than the exigencies of the climate and the soil. Wool is consequently an important product in this region.

The winter wheat region covers an area where the average winter temperature is not as low as in the spring wheat region. The provinces which may be included in this region are Hopei, Shantung, North Kiangsu, North Anhwei, Honan, the southern part of Shansi and Shensi, the south and the east of Kansu, the northern part of Szechwan, the southern and eastern parts of Sikang and the north-west of Yunnan. Apart from winter wheat, which is the major crop in this region, other food crops include *kaoliang*, millet, corn, peanuts, beans and sweet potatoes. This region is also the most important cotton and tobacco-producing area in China. Under the climatic conditions obtaining in this region, double cropping is possible, although it is not common. The chief draught animals are donkeys and cattle.

It may be pointed out in this connection that, roughly speaking, the winter wheat region corresponds with slight modifications to the rather vague political and geographical division known as North China. It corresponds more or less to the Yellow River basin, the cradle of ancient Chinese civilisation. Although North China is generally more highly regarded owing to its industrial potential, the fertility of the soil should by no means be overlooked. If only natural disasters can be prevented and the waters of the Yellow River harnessed to productive use, this region may very well prove to be a major contributory factor to China's future prosperity.

If we take the presence or absence of calcium salts in the soil as a criterion, we can divide the soils of China into two types, the calcium soils and the non-calcium soils. The first type is predominant in the greater part of the Yellow River region as well as in certain areas watered by the Hwaiho and the Yangtze and their tributaries. In the north the boundary of the region with calcium soils extends from the great bend of the Yellow River to the eastern part of what is known as Inner Mongolia and thence to the plains of the north-eastern provinces. Thus it corresponds roughly to the winter and spring wheat regions combined.

The nature of the soil, together with the climate, explains the fact that rice is not grown in the winter and spring wheat regions. The growth of rice is confined to areas with non-calcium soil, because only when the soil is of this type is there likely to be sufficient water for the irrigation of the land. The soil for rice-growing must be such that sufficient moisture can be kept for a considerable time within the soil itself. This quality is possessed by the soil of certain plateau regions as well as those areas where alluvial deposits are found. Certain sandy areas in South China also possess this quality and are, therefore, suitable for planting rice.

In the northern part of this vast area of non-calcium soil, the average winter temperature is fairly moderate. Consequently, in addition to the main rice crop, wheat, barley, oats and various vegetables can be planted and left through the winter. As there is generally sufficient rainfall in this region, it is one of the most fertile parts of China. This part of the non-calcium soil region corresponds roughly to the lower reaches of the Yangtze Valley and forms our third division, viz., the wheat and rice region, whereas the fourth, or the rice region, lies further to the south.

More specifically speaking, the wheat and rice region covers the southern part of Kiangsu, the northern part of Chekiang, south Anhwei, all except the southern tip of Hupeh, east and central Szechwan, the central part of Yunnan and the northern part of Kweichow. So far as farm animals are concerned, cattle (generally of a yellow colour) and water buffaloes are the most important. In fact, if one travels in a train from the north to the south, one cannot fail to observe the striking change from the yellow cow to the dark-skinned water buffalo. The transition from the northern type of farming to the southern type is clearly perceptible. Apart from these draught animals, animals are also raised for food. This is an indication that the peasants can manage to eke out a little more produce than the bare amount required for human consumption. An important industrial crop in this region is cotton, although the mulberry tree is really the more important industrial raw material. For this is also China's silk-producing region.

The rice region covers the southern part of Chekiang, Kiangsi, Hunan, the southern tip of Hupeh, Fukien, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, South Kweichow and south Yunnan. Wheat growing is limited in this region, while two crops of rice a year are usually grown. To obtain this result, the peasants either plant late rice between the rows of early rice, or wait till the early rice has already been harvested before planting for the second time. The former practice is known as inter-planting, while the latter is the simple form of double cropping. Draught and food-producing animals of all kinds are found in this region which is also rich in citrus fruits.

The above survey will have shown quite clearly that rice and wheat are the staple food crops in China, while corn, barley, kaoliang, potatoes and soya beans are supplementary crops. For people in the northern provinces such as Hopei, Honan, Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Ningsia and Chinghai wheat flour is the staple food, while the southerners in Szechwan, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Kwantung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Fukien, Chekiang and Kiangsu eat chiefly rice.

III TECHNIQUE AND EQUIPMENT

The division of crop areas described above does not mean, for instance, that it is absolutely impossible to grow wheat in the rice region. What it means is that although this is not impossible, the cost involved is so high as to be practically prohibitive, and that, consequently, it is not done. The natural factors set a limit to the range of the practical and the rational, although what is unpractical may nevertheless be practicable.

But apart from the physical factors, there is still the human factor. The size of the output from a given piece of land is not only dependent upon the type of the soil, the amount and distribution of rainfall, and the range of temperature variations. It also depends upon the strain of seeds selected, the time they are sown, the manner in which the earth has been prepared for their reception, the art of weeding, the type of manures employed, and a host of other factors. Some of the decisions that have to be taken are purely technical, while others involve a comparison of profitability. Why and how, then, do the peasants make their decisions? Waiving, in the first instance, the economic issues involved, let us concentrate on the more or less technical aspect of the problem. The economic aspect of the problem is seen in the necessity of choosing from among a number of alternatives; the technical aspect emphasises the need of knowing what the alternatives are. To discuss the latter means to describe the state of knowledge possessed by the peasants.

The constituent factors with respect to the state of knowledge among Chinese peasants may be conveniently divided into two categories according as to whether they deal with the peasants' struggle with natural menaces such as droughts, floods and locust raids, or with the direct process of agricultural production. In the following we shall attempt to discuss these two points separately.

According to an estimate by Mallory, in the course of the two thousand years between 108 B.C. and 1911, Chinese agriculture suffered some 1,828 big and small natural disasters. The main categories of natural disasters are

drought, flood, locusts, wind storms and frosts. These tend to have their special regions and, as it were, select their victims. In North China droughts are more frequent than floods, whereas in the Yangtze valley the reverse is true. On the other hand, while the western part of the Yellow River region often suffers from lack of rain, the possibility of the flooding of the Yellow River is a constant threat as we move eastward. Unfortunately, what very often happens is an alternation of droughts and floods.

Let us now turn our attention to the equipment with which the peasants wrest their meagre livelihood from the reluctant earth. The most striking feature of the implements used is probably their simplicity, which sometimes amounts to primitiveness. In the regions around Lake Tai, in East China, the chief and sometimes the only tool is a primitive hoe which is used for all purposes. Elsewhere the situation is similar. The tools are generally designed for a number of purposes for which in the western world different implements would be required.

The construction of some of the implements still used does not make for efficiency. A few examples will illustrate this point. The back of the native plough, for instance, is not sufficiently curved to turn over the earth that has been ploughed up. Owing to the shape of the teeth of the plough, only a scratching of the top soil is achieved. The deepest groove made probably does not go down more than four or five inches. In addition, a hard ridge is usually left between two rows. The wooden implement, known as *Lo-ch'c* in Hopei, used for broadcasting seed in sowing, is unable to segregate grains of different sizes or distribute the seed evenly. The native harrow has only one type of fixed teeth and cannot be used for breaking up different types of soil with equal efficiency. The water pump used in South China has a series of flat wooden cogs or joints, all perpendicular to the groove of the pump through which water from a low level can be brought to a higher level. This construction leads to a considerable waste of water. And it is also noteworthy that pneumatic pumps utilising the principle of differential air pressures have so far not replaced the old-fashioned "mechanized" pumps to any significant extent.

The invention and development of improved farming implements were, however, already gaining importance before the outbreak of the war in 1937. Among the simple machines developed were machines for the planting of rice, rice-harvesting machines, threshing machines, maize-cutting machines, etc. The manufacture of these machines was also being conducted on an increasing scale. But so far as the practical effect is concerned, primitive tools are still predominant to-day.

It is noteworthy that most of the farming implements used in China employ human labour as the motive power. This is so not only in the process of sowing and harvesting, but also in such strenuous work as pumping water for irrigation or, sometimes, even dragging the plough. This is not to say that animal power, the internal combustion engine and electricity are not used at all. The donkey, the ox and the buffalo are all well-known beasts of burden, and they have their individual regions, although horses are used far less than in, say, western Europe. Motor-driven tractors are used on the large estates both in the north-eastern provinces and in the North-West. Before the war tractors of 15 to 30 H.P. each were, for example, tried out at the New Agricultural Experimental Station at Sahsien, in Suiyuan. One tractor could pull three ploughs at a time,

and some 56 *mou* of land could be dealt with in one day. The fuel consumption amounted to CN \$ 15 per day or CN \$ 23 for ploughing 100 *mou* of land. A smaller tractor of 10 to 20 H.P. could pull two ploughs at a time, and the cost of ploughing 100 *mou* of land was CN \$ 25, the daily consumption of fuel being estimated at CN \$ 10. On the other hand, it would take one man and two oxen more than one month to plough the same area with a total cost in terms of wages and feeding stuff of well over CN \$ 33. The use of electric power or paraffin-driven motors for pumping water is not unknown, especially in eastern China. The average annual cost of irrigating one *mou* of land in this way is said to be some 10 kw. hours, or 60 cents in terms of money. On the other hand, the wages of one man alone amount to CN 80-50 per day when work is most pressing, while more than one man is required to operate an old-fashioned pump. Certain types of work in agriculture, such as irrigation, have to be completed within a very short time and the abundance of labour throughout the rest of the year does not help to tide over the temporary scarcity. In these cases the use of machinery driven by other forms of power than the human muscle is a rational way out. But although the tendency towards "mechanisation" is not entirely absent, it has not hitherto been of great significance.

The inability to adopt implements and forms of power which are much more productive than those now in use is, of course, due to economic stress. The initial cost involved in purchasing a tractor or installing a water pump driven by electricity is often so high that the average peasant cannot afford it. A more detailed analysis of these factors will be made in the following pages. But in the meantime it may be pointed out that within the range of the economically possible and profitable, considerable improvements can be made upon the technique and implements now used. For example, the disc harrow might be adopted instead of the native harrow without materially affecting the cost. A considerable waste of labour might be avoided if tin buckets can be substituted for the wooden cogs in the native water pump. Many similar improvements could be made without much increasing initial expenditure.

Regarding the technique of farming, improvements of a similar nature can be made. An interesting example of crop rotation is afforded by the practice in certain parts of Shantung. In the spring kaoliang or corn or millet is planted on a certain piece of land. After the harvest in autumn, wheat is sown on the same piece of land. Then, when the wheat has been harvested in the following year, peas or turnips are planted. This is followed by a fallow period. Finally, in the third year, the same process is repeated. Although a simple system of crop rotation like this is not representative for the whole country, it will hardly be doubted that improved rotation methods can be devised. On a similar plane is the possibility of using cheap artificial fertilisers, in place of animal manure, or in conjunction with it.

The lack of up-to-date knowledge prevents the Chinese peasant from employing the best implements and the best technique which he can well afford. As a result, output per acre in the case of many crops is lower in China than in other countries. Even in the case of rice, the amount of output per acre is lower in China than in Japan.

It cannot be over-emphasised, however, that all this should not be taken to mean that Chinese peasants are either lazy or stupid. For the contrary is true.

Chinese peasants are certainly among the most hard-toiling peoples on this earth. The stock of knowledge which they have inherited from time immemorial and enriched through often bitter experience rivals that of the most experienced farmer in other countries. But their ingenuity is handicapped by their ignorance of modern technique and science.

Nor should the above passages be construed in such a way that technique and knowledge are regarded as the only factors that matter. If that were so, the agrarian problem in China would be much simpler than it in fact is. Here we must take up the economic issues, a discussion of which has so far been postponed.

IV. THE SOURCES OF INCOME AND THE SIZE OF HOLDINGS

The most important factor in the determination of the gross output of a farm household, given the technique and the physical background, is probably the area of land it tills. Peasants in China, just as in other countries, do not depend for their income entirely upon the yield of their land. They have their supplementary undertakings such as cotton spinning, flour milling, the care of silkworms, etc. But agricultural products constitute the major source of their income. An inquiry made some time ago in ten districts in four different provinces both in the north and in the south shows that 74.5 per cent. of the income of peasant families is derived from agriculture, while wages and handicrafts provide the other 25.5 per cent. In other words, more than three-fourths of their gross income is derived directly from the land. Even in a place like Wuhsi, which is an important industrial centre, in spite of the greater number of alternative means of employment offered, 63.9 per cent. of the gross income of the peasant families is still attributable to agriculture. Even among the supplementary occupations, most of them are closely connected with agriculture. This predominance of land as a source of income is a universal phenomenon in China. Although its relative importance varies from place to place, and from one period to another, one can say that on the whole 70 per cent. of the peasants' gross income is represented by agricultural produce.

Given the relative importance of the agricultural output as a source of income, the size of the output per *mou* is the key factor—we abstract in the first instance from the price of the crop, etc. An inquiry in 17 districts in Kiangsu shows that the average annual gross income per *mou* for all crops (mostly rice) and all types of farm land taken together varies from CN \$ 30.04 to CN \$ 3.53, the average being CN \$ 10.77 (at the pre-war rate of exchange CN \$ 1—1.25 shillings approximately). A closer examination of the data available shows that the yield per *mou* varies with the number of *mou* per household. The smaller the total area a family tills, the larger is the gross output per *mou*. This is obviously due to the fact that the smaller the holding, the more must be got out of it in order to make a living.

On the other hand, if we take into consideration the various expenses involved in farming, we find that the net income per *mou* now varies directly with the size of the holding. In the 17 districts mentioned above, the average income per *mou* is no more than CN \$ 9.33. In Yiencheng, where the yield is especially low, the annual net income is just CN \$ 3.16 per *mou* for holdings of

10 *mou* or less. This figure rises gradually as the size of the holding increases. The same is true in other districts. This phenomenon means that the larger the holding, the smaller is the cost to yield a given output.

Taking China as a whole, it is probably true to say that for peasant families with holdings of more than 5 *mou* their annual earnings vary directly with the size of their holdings. On the other hand, if the holding is smaller than 5 *mou*, the annual earnings tend to decrease more than proportionately as the size of the holding decreases. The reasons are simply that much labour is wasted when the holding is minute, while many improved methods of production cannot be profitably introduced in the given circumstances. The maximum annual earnings of a peasant family with a holding of less than 10 *mou* is estimated to be no more than CN \$ 151, while the average figure might be CN \$ 76.5 only.

In view of all that has just been said, it is rather important for us to know the relative importance of the small holding. The latest survey of the size of farm-holdings in China was made by the National Agricultural Research Bureau in 1934. The data obtained then are still applicable now. The following distribution is based on reports from 891 districts in 22 provinces.

<i>Size Group.</i>						<i>Percentage of Farms.</i>
Under 10 <i>mou</i> (or 1.65 acres)	...	...	...	...	...	35.8
.. 20 .. (.. 3.30 .. )	...	...	...	...	...	61.0
.. 30 .. (.. 4.95 .. )	...	...	...	...	...	75.2
.. 50 .. (.. 8.25 .. )	...	...	...	...	...	91.7
Over 50 .. (.. 8.25 .. )	...	...	...	...	...	8.3

This shows slightly more than one-third of the Chinese agricultural population has less than 10 *mou* per household, which may be termed an uneconomical size even at the low level of farming technique which now obtains in the greater part of China.

From the technical point of view, the disadvantage of the small holding is further aggravated by its division into very small plots. In other words, the small holding of a peasant family may be scattered over a wide area. This system is reminiscent of the open fields in England before the enclosure movements. Consequently, not only is it impossible to employ even fairly simple machines, but a great amount of time is wasted in going from one part of one's holding to another. Further, since the small holding sets a maximum limit to the income of the peasants, it constantly prevents them from increasing the size of their holdings. The vicious circle is therefore complete.

Large estates are not unknown in China. But where the land is fertile, they are only a reflection of the temporary conditions in frontier regions which are not yet as densely populated as the interior of the country. Although China is reputed to be a large country, it is interesting to note that in the 22 interior provinces of China, while the total land area is 279 million *mou*, only 13.2 per cent. of this area is cultivated, and only 33.3 per cent. of the waste land is estimated to be cultivable. In other words, nearly 80 per cent. of the total land area is not cultivable. This accounts for the tremendous concentration of population in those parts of the country which are cultivable and fertile. To

what extent the proportion of uncultivable waste land can be reduced in the future as a result of better technique and irrigation it is difficult to foretell. What is now classified as uncultivated waste land may not in reality be entirely wasted. Although cultivable, a piece of apparently waste land may be the source of twigs and grass which supply the peasants with fuel in winter and their sheep with feeding stuff almost throughout the year. Hillsides which are very often classified as wastes belong to this category.

V. THE SCARCITY OF CAPITAL : INCIDENCE OF TAXATION AND RENT

The minuteness of the average holding means that even if the peasants possessed the most up-to-date knowledge and implements, they would still be living on a bare subsistence level in the best of years. In fact, lean years are all too frequent. The high frequency of natural disasters has already been pointed out above. There are, moreover, other factors which are just as important. These we shall discuss one by one. In the first place, however, it is interesting to know what the consequences are, if for one reason or another income should fall short of expenditure.

In most cases when a peasant has to borrow money, he goes to the money-lender. The rate of interest charged by money-lenders varies from one place to another. On the average, it ranges from 40 to 60% per annum. But interest rates at 150-200% are not unknown. Here let us quote some concrete instances.

Reporting on his experience in Manchuria in about 1930, Professor Franklin L. Ho states, "The credit facilities in the rural districts in Manchuria are provided invariably by pawn-shops and money-lenders, who are usually land-owners, grain merchants, or *Tsaho* firms, i.e., grocers. The rate of interest charged by money-lenders ranges from 40% to 100% per crop season (four or five months), either on the security of farm crops or on that of land deeds. Added to the implicit interest consisting of gifts or entertainments that are sometimes necessary for obtaining loans from the money-lender, the total interest not infrequently amounts to 100% per crop season. The interest charged by pawn-shops is much higher than that charged by money-lenders. At Hailun, the terminus of the Hulan-Hailun Railway, one pawn-shop charges an interest rate of 1% per day, with 40 days' time limit for redemption of the article pawned!"

There is no doubt that this is an extreme case. But conditions elsewhere are not always substantially better. Interest at 53 to 65% per month is known to be charged in certain parts of eastern China where conditions obtaining in the frontier regions are completely absent. And it is possible that the general statement, which is based on Professor Tawney's *Land and Labour in China*, that 40 to 60% per annum is the rule is actually an understatement. Inquiries made in 29 districts in various parts of China show that the monthly rate of interest sometimes reaches the record height of 100%, although it might be as low as 5%. On the average the monthly rate of increase is approximately 27%, varying from 16% to 48%. These data, based on the studies of a Chinese scholar, Mr. Koo Mei, may, of course, err in the opposite direction to that of Professor Tawney's inquiries. But which source is more literally accurate

does not really matter. So far as the rate of interest is concerned, the order of magnitude is a well-established fact.

There are many different forms of money-lending. Guarantees by a third party are sometimes required in the case of ordinary monetary loans. When such guarantees are required, the rate of interest tends to be higher—which seems to be contrary to what one would generally expect. The guarantor not infrequently imposes his own conditions and his exactions add to the burden of the borrower. Household goods and jewels are accepted by pawn-shops. The amount of money given for the things brought to a pawn-shop is rarely more than 50% of the value of the particular articles. The time-limit for redemption varies on the whole from six months to a year. The rate of interest charged by the pawn-shops varies from 20 to 50% per month. Mortgage is confined to fixed property such as land and houses. The usual amount is again about 50% of the value of the property, and interest payment is often deducted in advance. Sometimes money-lending takes the form of forward selling on the part of the borrower. In this case the price paid against future deliveries is considerably lower than that expected to rule at the time of the delivery.

The effect of usury is that once in debt one cannot hope ever to be able to redeem oneself. How an apparently harmless loan may finally lead to the loss of land is well illustrated by the following case given by Lee Kuo-ch'un in an article on "Village Usury in Szechwan", first published in November, 1936. "In the district of Kwan-hsien, on the well-irrigated and fertile plain of Chengtu," according to Lee, "one owner-cultivator obtained the loan from a local landlord family of one *picul* of rice just before the planting season. This loan was to be repaid after the spring harvest of rice. Since the loan was calculated on the market price of grain and since this price dropped from \$15 per *picul* at the time the loan was made to \$6 per *picul* when it became due, the debtor in this case had to give three *piculs* in repayment. To all appearances this may seem a just deal, but in reality the peasant could not make the repayment as his harvest was exhausted in the payment of taxes and other unavoidable expenses. He therefore begged his creditor to give him more time, which resulted in an arrangement by which he should pay three-and-a-half *piculs* before the next rice harvest. By that time the market price of rice had risen from \$6 to \$13 per *picul* and the peasant debtor, possessing neither adequate grain nor cash before the harvest, found it even more difficult to make the repayment than before. He was therefore compelled by the landlord usurer to convert the three-and-a-half *piculs* of rice into a cash loan of \$45, at a five per cent. monthly interest, with a written contract and security of two *mou* of land. Thus what originated as a grain loan of one *picul* of rice became within one year a heavy cash burden from which the peasant had very little hope of ever escaping."

The above example brings out very clearly several important points. First, the price of the crop fluctuates widely. It is extremely low after the harvest when, unfortunately, the peasants have to sell their produce for want of cash. It is generally at a high level when the peasants have to buy back some of the produce for planting or for their own consumption. Loans are often arranged in such a way that if they are in real terms their repayment has generally to be made when the selling price is high; while if they are in terms of cash, repayment is often at a time when the price is low. As the average peasant is a small

man, he has no power to influence the price of the crop, and he cannot stagger his sales in such a way that price fluctuations are reduced to a minimum. He has no adequate means of storing his crop during the few months immediately after the harvest. He cannot easily obtain loans on reasonable terms in order to enable him to hold out during the low-price period ; whereas, once he is forced to sell immediately after the harvest has come in, he will in all probability have to borrow later.

Secondly, there are a number of deductions which have to be made before the peasants know how much of the produce really belongs to them. In the first place, there is the land tax, with its supplementary dues. According to the 1930 Land Law, the rate of taxation on improved farm land should be 1 per cent. of the land value per annum and that on unimproved farm land from 1.2 to 1.5 per cent. In the past, when the political scene was not settled and warlords were still exerting great influence in certain parts of China, the number of supplementary taxes added to the land tax proper was very great. While the law stipulates that the land tax proper should be paid by the land-owner, some of the supplementary taxes hit the tenant farmer directly. So far as owners were concerned, the small man suffered much more than the large owner, who not infrequently managed to evade either the whole or a part of the tax. The supplementary taxes sometimes ranged from 81 to 173 per cent. of the land tax proper. A notorious case was the province of Szechwan when it was ruled by a number of warlords. At one time, although the different kinds of supplementary taxes numbered twenty only, there were eight different military factions collecting land tax in the province, though not always in the same districts. The frequency of collection varied from two to fourteen times a year. The number of years for which tax was collected *in advance* ranged from 25 to 74. While bearing in mind that this is doubtless a very exceptional case, and that where the rule of the Central Government was effective, conditions were materially better even in pre-war days, the fact that taxation might prove a most important item on the debit side of the income of the peasantry deserves our attention.

Finally, there is the question of tenancy and rent. Roughly speaking, there are three systems of rent payment in China, viz., cash rent, crop rent and share rent. Share rent is often payment in kind, in which case it is almost the same as crop rent. On the other hand, share rent represents a definite proportion of the produce, while crop rent represents a fixed quantity. According to an investigation made in 1934 by the National Agricultural Research Bureau, the percentage frequency of the three different types of rent payment is as follows : Crop rent, 50.7 per cent. ; share rent, 28.1 per cent. ; and cash rent, 21.2 per cent. The rate of crop rent and share rent varies from 30 to 70 per cent. of the farm output. In general, if the tenants are provided with the land only and have to acquire their own equipment, etc., 40 to 60 per cent. of the annual output is the usual rate. Cash rent is probably of the same height, or, perhaps, slightly lower.

According to investigations made in 1941, 63 per cent. of the farmers in 15 interior provinces are tenant farmers and part owners. In 22 provinces as a whole 53 per cent. are tenants and part owners. In other words, in most of the thickly populated interior provinces, nearly two-thirds of the Chinese peasants rent land from others. In the pre-war period the percentage of tenants in the

peasant population of China exhibited a tendency to increase. But since 1937 the position seems to have been stabilised.

It is true that, on the whole, tenants are in a weaker position than owners. The burden of rent is sometimes extremely heavy, and, in addition, there are other deductions from his gross income. But tenancy in China may assume different forms. Sometimes the land-owner actually owns the subsoil only, while the top soil is owned by the so-called tenant. Whenever this is the case, the tenant may lease his right to somebody else. At the same time he cannot be evicted easily. Convention alone affords him considerable protection, and the right of tenancy may even be passed on to the younger generation through inheritance. Relationship between the tenant and the land-owner varies greatly. It is often amicable, although a great number of cases can be cited in which the land-owner exercises arbitrary power over his tenants. The prevalence of absentee landlords in rural areas adjacent to industrial centres is unfavourable to tenants, because the former are primarily interested in land as a form of investment, and uninterested in those who till the land. On the other hand, as absentee landlords are dependent on their agents, the choice of the agents may determine the type of treatment accorded to the tenants. Further, since the absentee landlord may be the owner of the subsoil only, it is well to recall what has just been said concerning the special form of tenancy.

Finally, it may be noted in this connection that farm labourers who neither own nor rent land on their own are numerically insignificant. Those who hire themselves out to work for others are often tenant farmers or small owners. This is due to the fact that the average holding is so small that outside help is rarely necessary. Those who do not possess any land and are not tenants, generally migrate to nearby towns and enter the large pool of unskilled labour.

VI. SUPPLEMENTARY MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD

Although agricultural work provides the Chinese peasant with the greater part of his livelihood, supplementary occupations are also taken on whenever possible. Handicrafts and the preparation of raw materials for industry are the two major activities. The latter includes tobacco curing, the preliminary manufacturing of silks, etc.

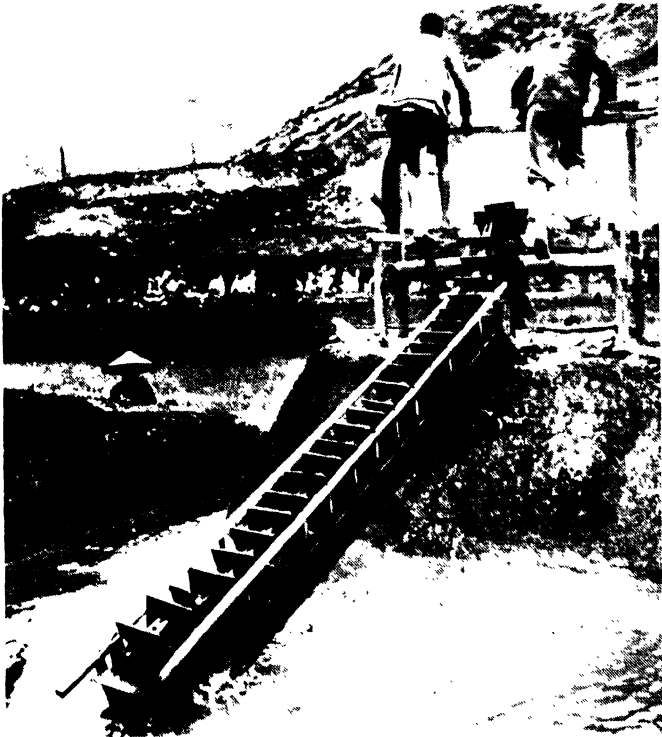
There are two great difficulties which cannot always be overcome. The first is the lack of market and technical information and credit facilities. Hence the peasant producers are often unaware of price fluctuations, take no advantage of technical improvements, and are unable to weather a price depression.

The second difficulty arises out of the fact that monopoly capital often takes advantage of the helplessness of the peasants and exploits them after having offered them some initial advantages. The plight of the tobacco producers in certain parts of China before the war is a clear illustration. But it should be emphasized that although foreign capital was involved from time to time in the past, the peasants were exploited by monopolists. The fact that these monopolists were sometimes foreigners in no way invalidates the thesis that foreign capital should be welcome in China. It is only when the capital in question is "monopoly" capital that the problem must be seen in a different light.



PLANTING RICE.

(Photo by Hedda Morrison)



IRRIGATION PUMP AS USED SINCE 300 B.C.



DRY PLOUGHING, NORTH CHINA.



INTENSIVE CULTIVATION, CANTON.

(Photo by Hedda Morrison.)

It is noteworthy that animal husbandry is not at all developed in the interior of China. Foreigners who go to China have often noticed the fact that cow's milk is not an item of general consumption. This is due to the fact that when the holding is very small there is virtually no room for large animals. They cannot be adequately fed or housed. This applies to most animals with the possible exception of pigs. Poultry is more widely kept, although the number possessed by an average household is, judged by western standards, comparatively small.

VII. GOVERNMENT POLICY AND REFORM

All the problems discussed above are of long standing and the essential facts are well recognised by all concerned. The following is a brief description of government policy as well as the main reforms that might constitute the lines of attack to be adopted in future.

The outline of government policy towards the land problem is provided by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's idea of the equalisation of land ownership. The purpose is to increase the number of owner-cultivators. The way in which this policy is to be implemented, according to Dr. Sun, is as follows: First, land-owners are to assess the value of their own possessions. Secondly, the Government is to levy a land tax of 1 per cent. on the value assessed, with slight variations to meet local social and financial needs. Thirdly, the Government may buy back the land if the assessments made by the land-owners are deemed too low. Fourthly, after the land values have been fixed, all increases in land values are to revert to the community in so far as the increases are due to improvements made by society and to the general progress of industry and commerce. Finally, measures to enable those who till the land to become its owners may include the cultivation of waste land and the protection of the tenant and the small farmer.

Before the war the pursuit of this policy was handicapped by external circumstances, among which Japanese aggression ranked as a major item. Reduction of taxation was rendered difficult by the necessity of strengthening defence. However, the policy was at no time abandoned, and considerable progress was made even during the war years.

In 1942, a National Land Administration was created under the Executive Yuan. It is charged with the responsibility of carrying out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policy regarding land ownership. There are four departments under this Administration dealing respectively with land deeds, land value, land titles and general affairs. Provincial land administration bureaux were established in fourteen provinces during the war, and by June, 1944, five other provinces had created land administration sections in their Civil Affairs Departments. *Hsien* (county) governments are also equipped with similar administrative machinery.

Although created in war-time, the National Land Administration, as one can easily see, has a long-term function. The basic principles governing its operation in war-time were laid down at the end of 1941. These are, briefly, (1) the control of production through the collection of land value tax and land increment duties, collection in kind being instituted; (2) readjustments in the apportionment of profits between land-owners and tenant farmers with

a view to stabilising the livelihood of the latter ; (3) the prevention of concentrated land-ownership in the hands of a small section of the people ; (4) the control of waste land in order to exploit unused natural resources and to assist in the relief of refugees ; and (5) the control of land utilisation to increase the production of needed materials. While the last item is essentially a war-time measure, its continuation will be necessary during the present transitional period from war to peace. On the other hand, all the other items are long-term objectives, and one can reasonably expect that they will be continuously pursued.

In spite of war-time difficulties and the pre-occupation of the Government with defence, work on the above lines was energetically tackled. For instance, the readjustment of land title deeds had covered, up to the end of 1943, eighteen provinces and nearly 1.5 million *mou* of land. The process of readjustment consisted of land survey, land registration, and the assessment of land values. Although the protection of tenants and independent farmers is still in its experimental stage, the development is most encouraging. The National Land Administration, in co-operation with the provincial governments, has selected places in eight provinces for the protection of tenant farmers in accordance with separate regulations drawn up by the provincial governments. These eight provinces have selected about fifty localities for the experiment of creating independent owner-cultivators, mainly by re-settling war refugees. These experiments are connected with the irrigation programmes of the Government. One of the localities, for example, is the Huanghui Canal region, in Kansu province. This canal was first completed in 1942. Since then the Kansu provincial government has allocated 25 *mou* of land to every farm family. Payment for the land is to be made by a five-year instalment method, beginning with the third year of actual ownership. The Huanghui Canal waters an area of some 300,000 *mou* of formerly arid land. This illustrates one way in which the problem of land hunger can be ameliorated, if not altogether solved.

The Government has also turned its attention to the question of agricultural credit. This work may be classified into two kinds, the first concerned with the direct financing of land purchases and improvements, the second dealing with the promotion of a co-operative movement. So far as the former is concerned, the National Land Administration co-operates closely with the Farmers' Bank of China, which is one of the four Government Banks. The latter has been entrusted with the work of rural finance in general. According to the Regulations Governing the Administration of Land Finance by the Farmers' Bank of China, promulgated in 1941, loans are to be extended for the following purposes :—

- (1) The purchase of land by the Government according to land value assessments made by the owners. Loans extended to land administrative organs for the purchase of falsely assessed land in areas where the collection of land tax in conformity with the Land Law is enforced belong to this category.

- (2) The purchase of privately-owned land by the State for National development projects.

- (3) The replotting of land by organs of land administration.

- (4) The reclamation of government-owned waste land and the extension of land irrigation projects. Loans are also made to tenants or hired farmers cultivating government-owned waste land.

(5) The assistance of independent farmers. Loans extended to the Government for the purchase of land to create independent farmers and loans extended to farmers for the purchase or redemption of land to be cultivated by themselves, etc., belong to this category.

As for the promotion of the co-operative movement, the Government organ in charge is the Central Co-operative Administrative of the Ministry of Social Affairs. There are also provincial and district bodies dealing with detailed work in the various localities. Rural co-operatives are of many descriptions. Credit, marketing, insurance, public utility and ordinary producers' and consumers' co-operatives can all be found in China. The majority consists rightly of credit societies. Next in number are agricultural producers' and consumers' societies. Many handicrafts and other enterprises are handled by the co-operatives. Among others we find co-operative farms, animal husbandry, paper manufacture, cotton growing, tea cultivation, textiles, vegetable and fruit gardening and small-scale irrigation projects. The policy followed by the Central Administration is to organise at least one society in every locality and to have as many co-operative societies of different kinds as possible to meet individual needs.

Although the co-operative movement in China has only had a short history of little more than ten years, it has exhibited great vigour. There were less than 3,000 co-operative societies in the whole country in 1931, with a total membership of 56,432 persons. The number of co-operatives had risen to over 173,000 by the middle of 1944, with a total membership of over 15,000,000.

In extending loans to the co-operatives, the Central Co-operative Administration works in close collaboration with the Joint Board of the Four Government Banks as well as with provincial and *hsien* co-operative banks. The creation of a central co-operative bank to handle the finance of co-operatives throughout the country may be realised in the not too distant future.

The expansion of credit co-operative societies has, of course, not yet reached the stage when usury no longer exists. But it has gone a long way towards this goal, in spite of the difficult years of war. By 1943, together with other government lending agencies, the credit co-operatives supplied some 40 per cent. of all loans made to farmers. Since then the proportion may have risen still higher.

While the measures described above refer to the distribution and improvement of land and the supply of capital, other steps have at the same time been taken by the Government to give help to the peasantry in technical matters. The National Agricultural Research Bureau, established in 1932, is in charge of agricultural research and the dissemination of its results.

Besides giving the farmers every encouragement possible for using better seeds and proper methods of manuring, it also studies various agricultural crop problems. Concerning rice, the following examples are of some special interest :—

(1) The problem of inter-cropping of an early variety and a late variety of rice so that two crops can be grown on the same field annually has been successfully worked out in the provinces of Hunan and Szechwan.

(2) The method of growing "regenerated" rice, which gives a second heading after the first heading has been harvested, has been successfully tried out in Szechwan.

(3) The bureau has made extensive research and tests for the "inter-cropping" and "double cropping" of rice in five other provinces. There have also been regional tests for upland rice in five provinces.

Cotton seeds of over 2,000 strains are being kept and tried out at various centres under the management of the Bureau. The following are some of the recent important results :---

(1) Manuring increases yield and shortens the growth period, while topping and pruning and ridge-making have no significant effect on yield.

(2) Too much irrigation delays maturity and reduces output.

(3) American cotton grows more quickly and has a larger yield, but the percentage of ball-shedding, as well as that of rotten balls, is higher than in the Chinese varieties.

As regards research in reviving the silk industry, the Bureau, besides carrying on the breeding of silk-worms and the extension of the improved varieties, is making studies of silk-worm diseases and parasites. Various germicides in powder form have been developed by the Bureau to combat the Polyvoltine fly and the Mascaridine disease, which are the two great menaces to the Chinese silk-worm industry.

The collection of a great number of varieties of tea and the selection of seedlings have been made in many tea-growing regions. An experimental factory for processing tea was established in 1939. Similar experiments have been made with other plants. Investigations in the cultivation of the *tung* tree have been made with good results. At the same time, research in the elimination of pests and the prevention of plant diseases, as well as the manufacture of improved farm implements to carry out the results of research in practice, has been carried on unrelentingly.

VIII. FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE

Having analysed the technical and economic problems of Chinese agriculture, let us now describe briefly the actual life of the Chinese peasant. For the welfare of the people must find its ultimate expression in their particular way of life. All economic and technical matters merely provide the data within the limitations of which the human spirit must seek self-fulfilment, and the activities of individuals and groups have a far deeper significance in all their inter-reactions and implications than the foregoing analysis alone can reveal.

The basic social group in the villages in China is the *Chia*, which is an expanded family. The members of this group possess a common property, keep a common budget and co-operate to earn their living. A *Chia* is essentially a family, but it sometimes includes children even when they have grown up and married. Sometimes it also includes relatively remote patrilineal kinsmen. Therefore we call it an expanded family, because it is an expansion of a family

due to the reluctance of the sons to separate from their parents after marriage. (In Western countries, the unit of a family consists of a married couple and their offspring only.) This emphasizes the interdependence of parents and children. It provides security to the old who are no longer able to work. The parents bring up their children and as the parents become older, the children take over more and more of the work.

The parent-child and the husband-wife relations are the two fundamental axes in the family institution. But in the *chia* the former seems to be more important, as one main feature of the *chia* is that the sons do not leave their parents after marriage. Furthermore, it is considered the duty of the parents to find a suitable bride for their son. Similarly, it is the duty of a son to his parents to have children, so that these may be able to worship their grandparents after the latter's death and so continue the ancestral ceremonies (periodical burning of paper money, paper clothes and paper articles) without which the spirits of the dead, according to popular belief, will not be able to live in the other world. But this belief has also its practical value. A child stabilizes the position of the young wife in the family circle. (She is the mother of the grandchild.) A child can help, even at a very early age, with the work; girls are especially useful with the housework, and spinning, and weaving, and also in the cultivation of silk. When the boys grow up and are married the parents are relieved of their work to a large extent and are finally entirely supported by their sons. Children in this sense are an insurance for old age. Of course, the more children there are under one roof, the better it will please the ancestors. But the desire for as many children as possible again has its practical value as the infant mortality rate is so high that it is unlikely that all the children born to one family will reach maturity. The danger of a family becoming childless in this way, if there should be only one or two children, is a real one, and people try to avoid it. On the other hand, if there are several sons in the family, serious consequences may ensue if the property is divided after the death of the parents, as the holdings are usually small ones. The holdings after the division may be too small to support the new families.

It is usual for the parents to select a bride for their son and the children will marry the party their elders have chosen. Mostly, the bride and the bridegroom meet for the first time on the day of their marriage, although if they belong to the same village they may be known to one another. But as soon as the engagement is settled they must avoid each other. Arrangements for marriage are made early, sometimes when the child is only six or seven years old. Children of families whose names are highly esteemed in the neighbourhood are promised early and parents try to settle the engagements of their children soon so that they may make a good match.

It sometimes even happens that children are promised before their birth or very shortly afterwards. Two friends may like to be more closely connected to each other and may decide to unite their baby son and daughter in marriage when the latter grow up. But usually the parents of the girl talk to the village match-maker, or go-between, who inquires about the time of the birth of the child. This is written on a red card with eight characters defining the year, month, date and hour of the birth. The match-maker then carries the card to the family of an eligible boy, sometimes named by the girl's family, lays it before the kitchen god and explains her mission. Usually there are several such red

cards there and the boy's family can therefore choose. The matter is carefully discussed by the members of the *chia* and often referred to the fortune-teller (on whom the blame can be fixed in case the choice turns out to be an unfortunate one). When the boy's family has decided, the go-between tries to get the consent of the girl's *chia*. Then long negotiations begin over marriage gifts. The girl's family appears to be hesitating and demands an excessive amount of marriage gifts and the bargaining begins.

The marriage gifts consist of clothing, ornaments, furniture, bedsteads, bedding, etc. The parents of the girl will usually give presents amounting to the same value as the gifts of the boy's family, or even try to give more. These gifts cost sometimes between two to three hundred Chinese dollars, the actual amount varying according to the wealth of the families. If times are good, much money will be spent; but if times are bad, the money may have to be borrowed, and expensive ceremonies like these not infrequently lead the peasant into debt. The marriage gifts form the dowry and thus enable the young couple to set up their own home, should the property be divided after the death of the parents. On the other hand, if the *chia* remains united, the dowry will furnish the couple's own room and replenish the old things, so that there is a renewing of the household property in every generation.

All these negotiations take a long time. But usually the parties come to an agreement and the date of the wedding is fixed when the children are old enough to marry. The age at which boys and girls marry varies considerably. Although the betrothal takes place very early in the child's life, early marriages are not looked upon with favour (the very young wife might not be able to bear healthy children and is also too young to bear her full share of the work). Usually girls marry from the age of 15 to 16 onwards. In the southern part of the country girls may marry as early as 14, but the usual age is 16 to 17. Most girls are married before they are 20 years old, unless the bad economic situation warrants a postponement of the marriage. As a rule there is no great difference of age between the bride and the bridegroom. Most young men are also married by the time they have reached the age of 20, unless there are several sons in the *chia* and there are already enough men to do the work. In this case marriage might have to be postponed until after the death of the parents and the division of the property.

On the wedding day a representative of the boy's family will come and fetch the bride. Dressed in her red wedding clothes, she is brought to her new home in a closed sedan chair, and hired musicians play the customary wedding music. On arrival at the bridegroom's homestead, the ceremony of sharing the wine-cup is performed, and afterwards the marriage is announced to the ancestors. The young couple worship the ancestors together, and a feast is given to the relations of the bridegroom. The announcement of the marriage to the spirits of the bridegroom's ancestors and the worship of these ancestors by the bride, signifies that the bride has left her old family and entered her husband's. She receives his name and has no further obligations to her parents. She will inherit only her mother's ornaments and some other small things after the death of her parents, the other property will go to her brothers. She and her husband have no legal obligation to provide for her parents when the latter get old (this is their son's duty) except for occasional gifts. But in practice the two families will often help each other when either is in difficulties. This explains

why sons are valued more. The girls will leave their parents as soon as they are grown up and become members of other families, while sons stay on and support their parents. Also, it is only through the son's children that the line of descent is continued.

The young wife often finds life rather difficult at first among her new relatives, and relations are sometimes rather strained. But with the arrival of the children the young couple and the grandparents are drawn more and more together through their love and care for the children and relations tend to become more amicable.

In some districts the women do not work in the fields, but attend to their domestic duties and are also engaged in spinning or weaving or in raising silkworms for the silk industry. But in most districts both women and men work in the fields. Local customs as well as the size of the holding and the supply of labour are the determining factors. In a family where there are several sons there may be no need for their wives to go to work outside, but in families where there is only one son his wife may have to work in the fields, as hired labour is usually too expensive.

As we have already stated, in the northern provinces of China, wheat is the staple food, while in the southern provinces rice is the main crop. Wheat is used to make noodles, dumplings, pancakes, etc. As rice has to be transported from the southern provinces, it is comparatively dearer than wheat flour in the north and is therefore only consumed by the better-off and the townspeople. However, China is generally known as a rice-eating country.

Rice cultivation starts in June. A small piece of ground is prepared as a nursery for the young shoots. Seeds are sown in the nursery and the shoots may grow within a month to about 30 cm. in height. As the young shoots do not need much space, the main field or fields are prepared in the meantime by breaking up and levelling the soil and irrigation. The tools used for most agricultural work are mainly wood. Sometimes the peasants prefer it to metal or steel, as the wooden tools are lighter to carry to and from the often widely separated plots of land. Irrigation is mostly a very complicated process and terraces are often built so that the water can slowly run down and moisten as much soil as possible. The pump is mainly wooden and the water is pumped by treading pedals. This work is mostly done by women and the older children, but sometimes animals are used (in such a case the pump would be of a different construction).

When the soil has been prepared the young shoots are transplanted. This is a very busy time. The children help to carry the young plants from the nursery to the field. The young shoots are planted in the main field in bunches of six or seven stalks. Children help by handing the plants to the grown-ups. One person will plant six or seven bunches in one row within his reach without stepping sideways. Finishing one row, he will take one step backwards and start another row, etc. If there are several persons on the same field they will form a row and move backwards at the same time. To maintain the rhythm the peasants often sing, which is very helpful in breaking the monotony and speeding on the work. In this way a person can plant on the average half a *mou* a day.

The hot weather in July makes the rice grow quickly. But if the rain is not sufficient the peasant will have to irrigate the fields again. About one week after the transplanting of the shoots the fields have to be weeded and the soil supplied with fertilizer. The latter consists of human and animal manure and bean cakes. (Bean cake is made of the sediment of the soya bean after the oil has been pressed out. The oil is used for cooking.) Both human and animal manure has been exposed to the air for a considerable time and after being mixed with grass is distributed carefully over the fields. Before the rice blossoms the field must be weeded again. This must be done very carefully so as not to destroy the rice plants. The time spent on irrigation depends on the rainfall. But usually the peasants have to water the soil most of the time. In the early part of September the rice blossoms and at the end of that month it bears fruit. As the crop needs no special attention during this period this represents a long interval in the agriculturist's work. It is used for rest and for visits to relatives. In late October the harvest can begin. The tool used for this is usually a long curved sickle. The rice is carried in bundles to the house and threshed at a special place or in the courtyard. The threshed stalks are collected and sold for fuel. In fertile regions there may be two closely succeeding harvests of rice. In other regions, after the rice harvest, the peasants may plant wheat or rape-seed or other crops which may be suitable for the soil and the climate. Mostly the second crop is for domestic consumption only.

With the establishment of the Republic the western calendar was introduced, but the peasants do not use it very much. They still cling to their old traditional calendar, which is a lunar one. The principle of the lunar system is as follows :

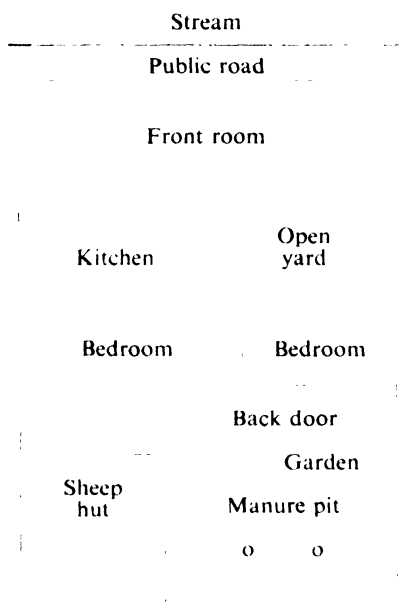
The full moon is taken as the night of the 15th day of a month. Thus the number of days in a month is either 29 or 30. (The synodic lunar month consists of 29.53 days.) Twelve months are counted as a year. An intercalary month is added every two or three years to make good the annual deficiency. But this calendar does not indicate consistently the position of the earth with reference to the sun and, consequently, the seasonal climatic changes. For example, supposing the people catch the right time for sowing at the 17th day of the fourth month, they will, owing to the intercalary month, be too late if they sow at the same date next year. Therefore in each calendar there is also given the exact position of the earth in its solar orbit at various periods. The unit in this system is the " Chieh ". The year is divided into 24 " Chieh ". These are :—

<i>Name of the Chieh.</i>	<i>Traditional Calendar and Time.</i>
Li Ch'un (Beginning of Spring)...	13 of First Month. Ch'en Ch'u 3 K'e.
Yu Shui (Rain Water)	28th of First Month. Yin Ch'u 2 K'e 10 Fen.
Ching Che (Waking of Insects)...	13th of Second Month. Ch'ou Ch'u 3 K'e 12 Fen.
Ch'un Fen (Spring Equinox) ...	28th of Second Month. Yin Ch'u 3 Fen.
Ch'ing Ming (Pure Brightness) ...	14th of Third Month. Ch'en Ch'u 1 K'e 2 Fen.

<i>Name of the Chieh.</i>	<i>Traditional Calendar and Time.</i>
Ku Yu (Corn Rain)	29th of Third Month. Wei Cheng 1 K'e 14 Fen.
Li Hsia (Beginning of Summer)... ..	16th of Third (Intercalary) Month. Ch'ou Ch'u 14 Fen.
Hsiao Man (Grain Full)	1st of Fourth Month. Wei Cheng 1 K'e 13 Fen.
Mang Chung (Grain in the Ear)... ..	17th of Fourth Month. Mao Ch'u 3 K'e 10 Fen.
Hsia Chih (Summer Solstice)	3rd of Fifth Month. Hai Cheng 3 K'e 4 Fen.
Hsiao Shu (Slight Heat)	19th of Fifth Month. Shen Cheng 1 K'e 11 Fen.
Ta Shu (Great Heat)	6th of Sixth Month. Ssu Ch'u 3 K'e 9 Fen.
Li Ch'iu (Beginning of Autumn)	22nd of Sixth Month. Ch'ou Cheng 1 K'e 5 Fen.
Ch'u Shu (End of Extreme Heat)	7th of Seventh Month. Yu Ch'u.
Pai Lu (White Dew)	23rd of Seventh Month. Mao Ch'a 13 Fen.
Ch'iu Fen (Autumn Equinox)	8th of Eighth Month. Wei Cheng 2 K'e.
Han Lu (Cold Dew)	23rd of Eighth Month. Hsu Cheng 2 K'e 8 Fen.
Shuang Chiang (Frost's Descent)	9th of Ninth Month. Tzu Ch'u 2 K'e.
Li Tung (Beginning of Winter)	24th of Ninth Month. Tzu Ch'u 1 K'e 4 Fen.
Hsiao Hsueh (Slight Snow)	9th of Tenth Month. Hsu Cheng 2 K'e.
Ta Hsueh (Great Snow)	24th of Tenth Month. Shen Ch'u 2 K'e 3 Fen.
Tung Chih (Winter Solstice)	9th of Eleventh Month. Ssu Ch'u 11 Fen.
Hsiao Han (Slight Cold)	24th of Eleventh Month. Ch'ou Cheng 10 Fen.
Ta Han (Great Cold)	8th of Twelfth Month. Hsu Ch'u 1 K'e 7 Fen.
Li Ch'un (Beginning of Spring)... ..	23rd of Twelfth Month. Wei Ch'u 2 K'e 4 Fen.

The lunar calendar is therefore used only for ceremonial purposes, date of birthdays and festivals and the solar system (Chieh) for agricultural purposes.

Houses are usually built with the material locally available, as transportation would much increase the cost of building. In very poor districts the houses are only little huts made from mud or clay with the door as the only opening, as windows are too expensive. This type of dwelling will be found more in the southern provinces as the weather is warmer. In the northern provinces houses are built more solidly with stones, bricks and wood, and the roof has tiles. The number of rooms varies considerably with the size of the *chia* and the wealth of the family. Houses in the north have a large brick bed in the room (using sometimes three-quarters of the space), which is heated in winter with wood or charcoal, and the members of the family sleep on this brick bed in winter to keep themselves warm. Usually there is only one such bed in the house, as it is fairly expensive and takes up a lot of space. At the back of the house are small sheds for domestic animals (pigs, sheep or donkeys) and also the manure pits. The individual dwellings seldom have their own well and water is brought from the communal well. There may be a small garden with a few vegetable plots, but on the whole every available bit of soil is used for the main crop, and vegetables are bought. The floors of the houses are mainly of compressed earth. Wooden floors are seldom used. Here is an outline of a house in a fairly well-to-do village in an eastern province of China. The front room is used for meals in cold weather (meals in the summer are taken often outside the house). The ancestral shrine is kept here and various other possessions are stored there.



There are usually three meals a day. In those parts where rice is the staple food, congee is eaten for breakfast (congee is rice over which hot or boiling water is poured). This is left overnight. With this, vegetables and preserved salted cabbage are eaten. In well-to-do families lunch and dinner are fairly

big meals, except during the busy time (transplanting and harvesting) when the peasants usually carry with them a prepared lunch. The evening meal will consist of rice, vegetables, fish or meat. The poorer peasants who are not able to afford meat or fish, live mainly on vegetables and salted pickles. Fish is consumed often in villages near rivers or lakes. Meat is mostly pork. Beef and mutton are rarely eaten. In the northern provinces, noodles, pancakes and dumplings made from wheat flour are eaten instead of rice. Nearly every province has its own specialities as well as its different ways of preparing food.

The very low standard of living of the average peasant family is clearly depicted in the following analysis of the expenditure of 69 families with an average annual income of CN\$ 100-400, which is slightly less than £5-20 at the then current rate of exchange. These families are, of course, by no means the poorest class.

<i>Items.</i>				<i>Percentage of Expenditure.</i>			
Food	...	...	...	50-60%	in 40% of the 69 inquiries.		
Clothing	...	...	...	5-10%	54%	„	„
Rent	...	...	...	5-10%	38%	„	„
Fuel and Light	...	...	...	5-10%	57%	„	„
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	10-20%	51%	„	„

Thus, just as in all other poor communities, the main item of expenditure is for food. And the way in which the amount spent on food is divided is shown in the following table :—

Expenditure on Various Kinds of Food in Peasant Families.

<i>Place.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Kinds of Food. Percentage of</i>				<i>Total Food cost p.a. per family.</i>
		<i>Cereals.</i>	<i>Vegetables.</i>	<i>Meat, Fish and Eggs.</i>	<i>Others.</i>	
Shanghai Area	1927-28	53.2	10.9	13.2 46.8	22.7	218.52
Peiping Area	1926-27	89.0	9.1	3.2 20.0	7.7	144.50

While the difference in total food cost is partly the result of higher prices in Shanghai and partly a reflection of the higher standard of living for people near an industrial area than that of peasants near an old-time town like Peiping, even the lower figure of percentage expenditure on cereals is very high. The percentage figures of expenditure on cereals and other foods for peasants in the Peiping area in 1926-27 compare unfavourably even with the corresponding figures for farmers in Tokyo in 1915, viz., 59.9 and 40.1 per cent. respectively, and with those for Japanese country farmers before the last war, viz., 61.9 and 38.1 per cent. respectively.

Translated into terms of food value, the total number of calories received by the average Chinese peasant is about 2,500 per day. This gives us an idea of the living standard of the Chinese peasants, at any rate so far as food is concerned.

Clothing, too, is of the simplest kind. The material is cotton cloth. In winter the clothes are padded with cotton wool. Not infrequently the same clothes are worn throughout the year, with the cotton wool padding put in or taken out as the case may be. The colour of the clothes is very often blue, as indigo is the cheapest dye available in many districts. Long gowns are by no means the standard wear. They are worn by elderly gentlemen and local scholars who are regarded as above the ordinary peasants, and by others only on special occasions. Women's clothes are generally short, consisting of a jacket and a skirt. The skirt is replaced by trousers in those districts where the women also work in the fields.

It will have been noticed that in all these matters—food, clothing and shelter—simplicity is the keynote. This is partly the result of stringent economic conditions, but partly also a reflection of the peasants' attitude towards life. While the Chinese peasant has no distinct creed apart from reverence for his ancestors, his outlook is in many ways that of a Taoist. The hard struggle he meets in life has produced in him a sense of detachedness which enables him to smile upon life and its pitfalls. A detached attitude does not, however, mean contentment with the *status quo*.

IX. THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

The above discussion deals with the problems of Chinese peasants without reference to their historical context. But nothing in this world can take place independently of the time-dimension. A balanced view of Chinese agriculture and a correct appreciation of the significance of its problems requires, in particular, the exercise of a historical sense. Unfortunately, it is impossible for us to develop this subject fully within the space available. The only thing we can do is to raise a few salient points.

In the first place, we should realise that the agrarian problem in China centres upon the relation between the size of the population and the area of available arable land. While the Chinese population has always tended to grow continuously, the amount of farm land does not, and probably cannot, increase at a corresponding rate. The great social upheavals produced by armed revolts and generally accompanied by dynastic changes, which used to take place in China at almost regular intervals (say between 150 and 250 years), can perhaps be explained by this fact. War and famine, which tend to occur together, are, economically speaking, two ways of keeping down the size of the population. But their political and social consequences are far from desirable. However, unless some other means is found by which the problem of continual population pressure can be solved, there is no apparent reason why history may not repeat itself.

We are now in a position to raise the output of food by adopting better technique and actually to increase the amount of farm land by extending the work of irrigation, soil conservation, etc. But at the same time, improvements in public health, nutrition and other physical and social conditions will reduce

the death rate and thereby render the population problem more acute. In other words, economic development may tend to increase the size of the population, while any increase in numbers in an already overpopulated country may nullify the result of economic development in terms of welfare. In order to break this vicious circle, the only way seems to be the creation of an increasing number of alternative ways of employment to that of agriculture. To put the whole thing in a nutshell, the Chinese agrarian problem cannot be solved without industrialisation, whereas unless some such solution is found, there will always be present the most potent factor of social instability.

Secondly, we should bear in mind that the real solution of China's agrarian problem cannot be achieved simply by a redistribution of land. Even if all absentee land-owners and large land-owners were eliminated and everybody became a small owner-cultivator, the need for increasing the total output would still remain. This clearly follows from the first point. In other words, distribution is not the only problem. It becomes an acute problem only when production does not expand enough. This is not to say that land-ownership presents no urgent problem in China to-day. But the redistribution of ownership should be viewed in the proper perspective.

Thirdly, it may be pointed out that Chinese peasants, with their traditional patience and perseverance, are fundamentally individualists. They may be conservative, but they are both shrewd and critical. Given the minimum opportunity and knowledge, they will no doubt guard their freedom with vigilance. Yet with equal certainty they will also give their elected rulers a fair trial. Consequently, they are the stuff of which democracy can be made. Already to-day we can see the gradual evolution of China towards a people's democracy just as the agrarian problem is now being handled in the right way

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Section V

INDUSTRY

FOREWORD

This pamphlet was written at the request of the Chinese Ministry of Information by Dr. C. S. Chen—a well-known authority on the subject of China's industrialization and its problems. Naturally, in the present stage of transition from war to peace, a great deal must be tentative and theoretical only. But the broad basis of what industry means in and to China has been set down and the ground-work for its future development laid before the reader.

In the hope that it may help in that necessary co-operation between China and the Western World which is essential to both, this pamphlet is sent forth.

NEVILLE WHYMANT.

CHINESE M.O.I.,

LONDON, *January, 1946.*

Section V

INDUSTRY

I. WHY CHINA MUST INDUSTRIALIZE

Historical Cycles.—In the first pamphlet of this series a Chinese proverb was quoted which says, "That which has long been divided will again be united and that which has long been united will fall again into disunion." "That" refers to the world which, at a time when the existence of the outside world was little known to the Chinese people, was practically identical with China herself. The saying merely means that in China long periods of peace and chaos succeed each other as a matter of course. This fragment of historical philosophy, which has been handed down to us from time immemorial, was re-phrased in a more concrete form by Hsia Tseng-yu, an eminent Chinese historian. In his book, *Ancient Chinese History*, published in 1906, he wrote: "In Chinese history there is a general law. Prosperity usually follows forty or fifty years after a change of dynasty. It then lasts for about a hundred years, after which social unrest again begins to brew for a few decades, ending finally in great upheavals and a second change of dynasty."

The basis of Hsia's generalization was the history of the Western Han Dynasty. That Dynasty was established in 206 B.C. After almost thirty years spent in unifying the country the dynasty began to flourish with the reign of Emperor Wen (179–158 B.C.) and reached its zenith of power with Emperor Wu (140–88 B.C.). But by the time Emperor Yuan ascended the throne in 48 B.C. the tide had begun to turn. From 179 B.C. to 48 B.C., the period of peace and prosperity had lasted some 131 years. Social unrest stirred during 66 years from 48 B.C. to A.D. 18, when civil wars broke out, which ravaged the country for 18 years until A.D. 36. In the meantime the Western Han Dynasty had, in the year A.D. 25, been overthrown and given place to the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Besides the Western Han Dynasty, Hsia's theory was, as he himself pointed out, applicable to the Eastern Han (25–219), the Tang (618–905), the Sung (960–1276), and the Ming (1368–1643) dynasties. As we shall presently see, it holds, no doubt, also true of the first part of the Ching Dynasty.

What were the causes responsible for these alternations of prosperity and chaos? Out of hundreds of causes there were two which proved more persistent and fundamental than all the rest, namely, the steady increase in the Chinese population and the predominantly agricultural nature of the Chinese economy.

China's Population.—China has never undertaken a scientific and thorough-going census of her population. The following figures, given in official records

of the last two hundred years, can, however, serve as a basis for further discussion :—

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Reported population in millions.</i>	<i>Computed population in millions.</i>
1741	143	143
1751	182	173
1761	198	205
1771	215	239
1781	280	272
1791	304	304
1801	297	334
1811	359	360
1821	356	384
1831	396	404
1841	413	420
1911	371	470
1931	433	474
1941	—	475

It can be seen from the above table, especially from figures in the last column, which are derived from a logistical formula devised by Professor C. H. Chao, that, contrary to our ordinary conception, the population of China has not been increasing at any extraordinary rate for the last hundred years. As was pointed out by Professor Chao, the population of China had reached the upper asymptote in about 1841.

Professor Chao further argued that field investigations undertaken over the 25 years before the present war, a period which he regarded as "a continuation of the demographic situation which already existed in the past", tended to support the view that the increase in the population of China had been slow. In the first place, there is the gross population change since 1911. As the 1911 census gave the total population of the eighteen provinces as 343 millions and the 1931 census yielded a figure of 387 millions, the annual rate of increase was 6 per 1,000. A similar figure was obtained by a comparison of the birth and the death rates. The estimated birth rate was 36 per 1,000, while the death rate is variously estimated at 34 per 1,000 and 27. The rate of natural increase, therefore, can be either 2 or 9 per 1,000, the average figure being again 6. In the third place, from the following table concerning the percentage distribution of the female population by age groups for certain areas of China, Professor Chao concluded that China's population approached Sundbarg's stationary type :—

<i>Age Group.</i>	<i>Chingho families 1933.</i>	<i>10 Villages neighbouring Chingho, 1933.</i>	<i>A Tinghsien village, 1929.</i>	<i>Tinghsien, 1930.</i>	<i>North China, 1928-33.</i>	<i>South China, 1928-33.</i>
0-14	33.4	27.9	34.4	32.8	33.1	34.0
15-49	48.3	46.2	46.8	49.3	51.6	51.5
50	18.3	25.9	18.8	17.9	15.3	14.4

Professor Chao's findings are acceptable as the best that can be obtained. But for the purpose we have in hand, namely, the explanation of alternations of peace and chaos in Chinese history, the rate of increase is only one of the

relevant factors. Others equally important are that in the years preceding the present war, the population of the whole of China, of which the eighteen provinces above referred to is only a part, had reached the enormous figure of some 450 millions and that it continues to increase, even though at a rather slow rate.

A Predominantly Agricultural Economy.—A huge population would not be a curse if it were not for the fact that China is predominantly an agricultural country. This latter point is so obvious that it hardly needs stating. What is needed, however, is some more precise idea of the extent to which China is agricultural. For this purpose, the following two sets of figures are useful. The first set relates to the occupational distribution of the Chinese people. In 1930, according to figures quoted by Professor R. H. Tawney, of a total Chinese population of 450 millions, no fewer than 80 per cent. lived in agricultural families, though other recent estimates give figures as high as 87 per cent. In this respect China may be compared with Russia before the launching of her five-year plans, when her rural population amounted to 78 per cent. of the total. The Russian figure, however, had, by 1937, been reduced to 61 per cent.

Of the non-rural population of China, which amounts to some 20 per cent. of the total, by far the majority were engaged in native industries and transportation. Mainly due to its primitive nature, transportation took up a disproportionately large number of the population. Concerning this point, Professor H. D. Fong commented: "The statement that 20 per cent. of the population of China is engaged in transportation is, no doubt, an exaggeration; but it is not wholly unrealistic."

Outside native industries and transportation the number of men working in modern factories is, again according to Professor Fong, no more than two millions. If we take Professor L. Buck's estimate that the Chinese family averages 6.66 persons, then the total number of persons depending upon modern factories for their living cannot exceed 13 millions, or a mere 3 per cent. of the total population. Factory workers in 29 cities throughout China were, in 1930, distributed as follows: Textiles, 47.2 per cent.; preparation of food and tobacco, 14.7 per cent.; clothing, 6.6 per cent.; building, 6.5 per cent.; chemicals, 5.9 per cent.; machinery, 5.4 per cent.; educational supplies, 4.9 per cent.; furniture, 3.3 per cent.; art products, .8 per cent.; public utilities, .4 per cent.; construction of vehicles, .1 per cent.; and unclassified, 4.2 per cent.

Studies of the Chinese national income confirm, by and large, the general picture drawn above. According to the estimates made by Mr. Collin Clark, out of a total national income of £4,315 millions in pre-war years, some £63 millions, or 1.35 per cent., were contributed by large-scale industries; £852 millions, or 19.8 per cent., by handicrafts, transportation and other employments; and no less than £3,400 millions, or some 79 per cent. of the total, represented the income of the farm population.

Interaction between Population and Land.—The serious effects of population increase had been recognized by the Chinese. About the time of R. Malthus, or perhaps a little earlier, Hung Liang-chi (1746–1809) developed a theory of population resembling in many respects that of Malthus. Later, writing towards the end of the Taiping period (1851–1864), Wang Shih-toh attributed the uprising to over-population and bad government by the Manchus. As a remedy he advocated, among other things, birth control. Still later, in 1906,

Hsia Tseng-yu said : " After great upheavals, with reductions in the size of the population, the products of nature will become more than sufficient to maintain those who remain. Meanwhile, men with outstanding ability who dare to rise against the existing regime have most of them already perished in the turmoil. The survivors are war-wearied ; they entertain no other ambition than to live and let live. Herein is to be found the secret of peace which is closely related to the output of the soil and has little to do with the personality of this or that emperor or premier."

Hsia's theory is quite modern in tone. The output and income per man depends principally upon the amount of capital equipment which he has at his disposal. In a predominantly agricultural country such as China, by far the greatest part of the national capital consists in land. As the supply of land is more or less fixed in quantity, it follows that the average capital per head, hence the average output per head, falls with every increase in the population. Eventually a point will be reached at which the aggregate product of the earth becomes hardly sufficient to provide a bare living for the whole population. As wealth and income are not distributed in an absolutely equal manner, a part of the people will go without. Some of these are forced to turn bandits and others get employment in the army. The result is, first, social unrest and then great upheavals. When, through slaughter, hunger and disease, the number of the population is reduced, a process reverse to the one described above will set in. The quantity of land remains the same, but the number of persons sharing it becomes fewer. The consequent increase in the average capital holding per head of population, and hence the average output and income per head, will usher in a period of prosperity and opulence.

The history of the first part of the Ching Dynasty, the only period which had transmitted to posterity a more or less complete record of its population,* provides a striking proof of the close relationship between population growth and vicissitudes of dynasty-fortunes. The Ching Dynasty was established in 1644. In a rough manner, we can say that political stability was achieved with the suppression in 1662 of the regime established by the rebel General Wu San-Kuei. For the greater part of the reigns of Emperors Kang-Hsi (1662-1721), Yung Cheng (1723-1735), and Chien Lung (1736-1795), the country enjoyed, in general, peace and prosperity. If we refer to the population statistics given above, we can see that this period of about 110 years was, relatively speaking, a period of sparse population. The first sign of social unrest appeared with the uprising of the White Lotus Bandits in 1796. Then followed a series of troubles, namely, the Taiping Revolution, which lasted from 1850 to 1864 ; the Nen Bandits Rising, which was suppressed in 1868 ; and the Mohammedan revolts, put down in 1878. These troubles occurred in a period of dense population. At the turn of the eighteenth century, China's population was already double that of the early Chien Lung period. And in 1835, the Board of Revenue reported for the first time a population above 400 millions.

How long each period of peace lasts can perhaps be explained by reference to such factors as : the initial volume of population, its rate of growth, the quantity of cultivable land, the technique of production, the minimum requirements for subsistence, and the distribution of wealth. The fact that each period of peace lasts a little more than a hundred years indicates a considerable amount

* It may be, however, that earlier figures should have been available—see the remarkably detailed "Census of Tun-huang" (T'ang Period) recovered from the caves there.

of regularity in the change of these factors. Periods of social unrest and poverty, on the other hand, were usually of indefinite length. They are no doubt brought about by the same fundamental cause, viz., the growth of population outstripping increases in the output of the land. But the initial disturbance brings in its train a host of other complications. It is in times of trouble that the factors mentioned by Dr. and Mrs. Lattimore in their book, *The Making of Modern China*—namely, the struggle between peasants, landlords and the Government, and the appearance of selfish, treacherous and ignoble figures on the one hand, and of able, far-sighted, progressive and heroic figures on the other—may come into play. These, and such other natural phenomena as pests, droughts, and floods, while they could cause no more than ripples in the ocean of opulence, may wreak considerable havoc in leaner times. These factors combined to aggravate or counteract the effects of increasing population, thus making the periods of trouble longer or shorter than they would otherwise be.

Foreign Intrusion.—The above theory, though it is applicable to the Han, Tang, Sung, Ming, and the first part of the Ching Dynasties, does not explain the violent changes which occurred during the North and South Dynasties (317–589), the Five Dynasties (907–960), the Yuan Dynasty (1260–1368), and also the latter part of the Ching Dynasty. For these, another factor was fundamentally responsible: the intrusion of alien races. But though they were often actuated by causes of their own, such as famine in the land of the aggressor or his desire for expansion, foreign encroachments upon China often represented no more than attempts to take advantage of China's weakness.

The Ways Out.—The pressure of population and the intrusion of foreign races are thus the two most fundamental keys to Chinese history. By what ways, then, can China free herself of the stranglehold of these twin evils? Against the evil of over-population we need, if we wish, hardly do anything in the years immediately after this war in order that peace and prosperity may be achieved. Strange as this view may sound, it is no more than a re-statement, though in a somewhat crude form, of the western doctrine of *laissez-faire* and of the Chinese Taoist philosophy of Government. As we have seen, weariness, the increase in *per capita* income through reductions in the number of the population, together with the well-known resilience of the Chinese people, can be depended upon to ensure a new period of peace and prosperity. To repeat and continue our quotation from Hsia Tseng-yu, the secret of peace "is closely related to the output of the soil. If the emperor or premier who happens to be in power is honest and, further, refrains from interfering with the life of the people, peace and prosperity will be achieved so much the more quickly".

But, taking a longer view, to prevent the recurrence of the Malthusian cycle, which has been the plague of the Chinese people for centuries past, and to raise the proverbially low standard of living of an agricultural country, we cannot remain totally passive. Something must be done. We can attack the problem from two sides, from the population angle and from that of the land. Birth control has been widely preached in China, but judging from the experience of West European countries, the growth of a population cannot be effectively checked until its country has become economically advanced, when it will, for reasons not yet quite clear, automatically react. Therefore, the Malthusian cycle can, in the long run, only be broken by making the capital stock of the country variable with variations in the size of the population instead of its being

a fixed quantity. This means industrialization. Incidentally, industrialization provides also the only effective means of keeping in check the greed of aggressive nations.

Raising the Standard of Living.—The industrialization of China is, therefore, intended to serve three main purposes, namely, to break the Malthusian cycle, to raise the standard of living of the people generally, and to strengthen the defensive power of the nation.

Enough has been said about the Malthusian cycle. And it seems quite unnecessary to emphasize the fact that raising the standard of living of the people has been the main, if not the sole, concern of Chinese leaders ever since the time of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic. We shall, therefore, go straight into a question which is in the forefront of the minds of many people. As was pointed out by the *Economist*, to the older manufacturing countries the industrialization of the East appeared primarily a question of trade competition. This attitude has been anticipated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who said, in his *International Development of China*, that, "It might be feared by some people in Europe and America that the development of China . . . might create unfavourable competition with foreign industries. I, therefore, propose a scheme to develop a new market in China big enough both for her own products and for products from foreign countries." A quarter of a century later, Dr. Sun's words are substantially endorsed by the *Economist*, which says, "It is now recognized that poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere, and that it is only by providing full employment and by raising the standards of living everywhere that the harmonious prosperity of the world as a whole can be assured."

It is obvious that the industrialization of China will immediately increase her import of capital goods and technical skill and possibly raw materials as well, because the production of these cannot go into full swing until some years from now. Then the increase in the income of her people as a result of the development of her industries will further bring about an increase in her importation of consumption goods.

In one sphere, however, foreign manufacturers might suffer. Part, and part only, of the goods, especially consumption goods, that used to be imports from abroad are bound to be replaced by similar products which the new industries in China turn out. But this replacement does not necessarily mean a disaster to the manufacturers of older countries; this is shown by the following figures relating to the production of cotton yarn by Chinese spinning mills and by Japanese spinning mills in China :—

	19 Counts and under.	20 Counts.	21 Counts and over.
	%	%	%
Chinese mills	55.8	26.9	17.3
Japanese mills	14.1	48.1	37.8

The above table shows that Japanese mills concentrated on spinning yarns of 20 counts and more, while Chinese mills concentrated on yarns of 19 counts and less. The division of labour is indicative of the fact that the doctrine of comparative advantage was here operative. The Japanese could, of course,

produce both the finer and the coarser yarns cheaper than Chinese mills. But their relative advantage was greater in the case of the finer yarns. It was, therefore, better in their interests to concentrate on these and to leave the coarser produce to Chinese mills. The Japanese mills referred to were, no doubt, those established on Chinese soil ; but the same division of labour between the two countries might still be worked out had there been no Japanese mills established in China.

As world competition in the inter-war period had already forced British industries to specialize on the production of high-quality goods, the industrialization of China, with the consequent increase in the output of Chinese industrial goods, which in the first years at least can only be of the coarser kind, need not bring about any readjustments in Britain's industrial structure. British capital and consumption goods industries and technicians are bound to benefit by the increased purchasing power of one-sixth of the world's population.

National Security.—Read through the pages of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *International Development of China* and his lectures on the Principles of Livelihood, delivered in 1924, and you will probably fail to find any reference to economic reconstruction as a means of national defence. In the latter work he declared : " Livelihood is the centre of Government, the centre of economics, the centre of all historical movements." Dr. Sun always assumed the establishment of general security and was always thinking in terms of the people's livelihood. It was only after the bitter experience of the last eight years that emphasis was placed upon the importance of national security. In 1941, the Chinese Economic Reconstruction Society, a private study group comprised of bankers, manufacturers, engineers, and professors, declared that " Economic reconstruction shall aim primarily at strengthening national defence and secondarily at raising the standard of living."

Having been a victim of brutal aggression for more than eight years, with our very existence constantly at stake and the accumulated wealth of centuries swept away at a stroke, if, after the war, we should concentrate on building up a mammoth war machinery for self-protection, we need apologize to no one. But, strange as it may sound, the revised political programme and policy of the Kuomintang adopted at the party's Sixth National Congress in 1945 laid stress only on the standard of living of the people. The reason is not far to seek. As has been pointed out, " We have a tremendous task ahead of us—the task of rebuilding a vast ruined country—and can ill afford to waste our national energies in the building of war industries." The most natural course for China to follow is, therefore, to help establish a world security system and at the same time to develop her basic and key industries which primarily benefit the daily life of the people but can be mobilized for war in case of emergency.

Yet doubt is sometimes being entertained as to China not becoming aggressive once she is economically strong. The fear is unjustifiable ; but it deserves to be examined in some detail. An economically developed nation turns aggressor only under two conditions : that it believes in and acts upon an aggressive philosophy, and that it is economically at least as strong as its intended victim. The United Kingdom and the United States are economically incomparably strong ; but they are not aggressive, because they are not dominated by any aggressive dogma. The peaceful nature of Chinese philosophy is only too well known. The first condition is, therefore, lacking in the case of China.

Let us, therefore, consider the question of how long it would take China to catch up with, say, Great Britain economically.

In her production of pig iron, the China of 1928, with an annual output of 433,000 tons per annum, is roughly comparable with the Great Britain of pre-1855 days, and to the United States of America, Germany and France in about 1850. From 1913 to 1928, the production of pig iron in China increased at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum. At this rate, China's output in pig iron cannot reach the 1937 level of British production at 8-6 million tons until some 470 years from now. Next take the case of coal. In this respect, China's production in 1934, when it amounted to 20.5 million tons, was no more than that of the United Kingdom in 1829, when her consumption of coal was estimated at 15-30 million tons; of the U.S.A. in 1865; of Germany in 1865; and of France in 1885. From 1913 to 1934, the increase in coal production in China was at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum. At this rate, it would also take China more than 400 years to catch up with Great Britain's 1937 coal output of 244 million tons.

From actual rates of economic progress let us turn to rates which have been planned for China. According to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, the expected annual output of coal at the end of his ten-year plan should be some 150 million tons, that of iron and steel 5.56 million tons. The corresponding figures for Great Britain for the year 1938 are 230 million tons and 17.4 million tons respectively. The planned rates of progress are much higher than the actual rates. Even so, it would take China 15 years to catch up with Great Britain in the production of coal and 30 years in the production of iron and steel. According to the plan drawn up for China by the American Foreign Economic Administration, the corresponding figures are roughly 10 years and 50 years.

The above figures are based upon the production of two basic war materials and have not taken into consideration the greater power of Great Britain to import from the Empire and foreign countries and the fact that when China reaches Great Britain's 1937 level of production, the latter will have gone still further ahead.

In any foreseeable future it is simply impossible, even if she wishes it, and she certainly does not, for China to initiate any war of aggression.

On the other hand, a China strong enough to defend herself is an indispensable factor for the stability of the Pacific. As Professor N. Peffer has said, the chief cause of war in the Far East was "the disputed status of China, rivalry for the prize of China". Therefore, he goes on to advocate that "we must strengthen China—strengthen her so that she can never again be a prey to conflicting imperialistic ambitions".

A similar, but broader, view was expressed by Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. At the San Francisco Conference he declared, "the emergence of a united, independent, strong and prosperous China will be a great stabilizing factor in the Far East and the Pacific, and will, therefore, be a valuable asset in our common purpose and task to check and forestall aggression and to preserve peace in the world, so that peace-loving peoples will not be called upon again to send their sons to fight and die in battle."

The stability of the Pacific is thus an indispensable condition for the peace of the world. In this sense the industrialization of China by contributing to the stability of the Pacific is an event of international significance.

II. WHAT CHINA PROPOSES TO DO : PLANS FOR INDUSTRY

A Planned Free Economy.—China has decided upon a planned economy : but a planned economy which is at the same time a free one. In this there is close similarity between the Chinese system and that which France followed when developing her railways. In the case of France, the construction of railways was open to private enterprise ; but it had to follow the routes mapped out by the Government. In the case of China, an overall plan for economic development is also to be drawn up by the Government. It will be executed partly by State enterprises, but largely by private enterprise. Some industries will be reserved as monopolies of the State. These have been defined as postal service and telecommunications, arsenals, mints, principal railways and large-scale hydro-electric power plants. All other industries are open to private enterprise. Among these, however, there are some, such as large-scale petroleum fields, steel plants, air and water transportation, which private capital is not capable of developing or which the Government regards as being of special importance. These enterprises the Government may undertake either by itself or in partnership with private interests. For the development of the rest, private resources and initiative will alone be depended upon. The Government requires only that private enterprises must conform with the general economic plan in respect of their location, plant capacity and kinds and quality of products; and that the issue of debentures and shares must be reported to the Government and receive its approval.

The General Economic Plan is in process of being formulated by the various Government departments concerned. Some of the guiding principles are found in (1) Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *International Development of China* ; (2) Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's *China's Destiny* ; (3) The economic plan drawn up at China's request by the Foreign Economic Administration of the U.S.A. ; and (4) the revised Kuomintang economic programme of 1945.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Scheme.—Dr. Sun's *International Development of China*, which contains his plan for the economic reconstruction of the country, was published in 1921, immediately after the end of the first world war. As he himself has made clear, his scheme was intended to serve the double purpose of the economic development of China and of facilitating the transition of belligerent countries from war to peace. The following summarized quotation from Dr. Sun speaks for itself :—

“ We remember that one hundred and twenty million dollars were spent every day on direct war supplies. Let us, then, suppose that the two items mentioned (i.e., the reconstruction of the various countries and the resumption of supply of comforts and luxuries) will take up one-half of this sum, which will still leave us a balance of sixty million dollars a day. Just imagine sixty million dollars a day, or twenty-one billions and nine hundred millions of dollars a year, of new trade created by the war suddenly having to stop when peace is concluded.

“ If the billions of dollars' worth of war industries can find no place in the post-war readjustment, then they will be a pure economic waste. The result will not only disturb the economic condition of the producing countries, but will also be a great loss to the world at large.

“ Fortunately, the natural resources of China are great and their proper development would create an unlimited market for the whole world and would utilize the greater part, if not all, of the billions of dollars’ worth of war industries soon to be turned into peace industries.

“ The workshops that turn out cannon can easily be made to turn out steam-rollers for the construction of roads in China. The workshops that turn out tanks can be made to turn out trucks for the transportation of the raw materials that are lying everywhere in China. And all sorts of war-industry machinery can be converted into peaceful tools for the general development of China’s latent wealth.”

The latest appreciation of Dr. Sun’s prophetic scheme comes from *The Economist*, which says, in its issue of April 28th, 1945, that “ The remarks of the great Chinese leader are apposite and topical at the present juncture, when the dangers of sudden reconversions and large backlogs of war products might be partially offset by export to the under-capitalized countries of the Far East.”

Dr. Sun’s *International Development of China* holds in Chinese politics an unique position of prestige and authoritativeness. Written a quarter of a century ago, it is to-day still officially regarded as the basic blueprint for the economic reconstruction of China. To show this a few random quotations from books and official documents will suffice. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek says, “ As to economic reconstruction we must follow the principles laid down in the ‘ Industrial Plan ’”, which is the title given to the Chinese version of the *International Development of China*. In the preamble to the “ Principles for China’s Economic Development”, adopted by the Supreme National Defence Council in Chungking on December 28th, 1944, it is said, “ The task of China’s economic reconstruction must be undertaken along the lines planned in the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen so that economic developments under a general reconstruction plan will eventually lead to the establishment of an economic system prescribed in the Three Principles of the People.” As a last example, the Kuomintang National Congress held in 1945 resolved that a detailed industrial plan should be drawn up on the basis of the outlines contained in Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s *The International Development of China* and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek’s *China’s Destiny*.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen’s economic plan provides for the following categories of construction, namely, communications, commercial harbours, modern cities, water power, and iron and steel, and cement works. The scheme also envisages mineral development, agricultural development, irrigation works, re-afforestation in Central and North China, and colonization in the North-Eastern Provinces (Manchuria), Mongolia, Sinkiang, Kokonor and Tibet.

Dr. Sun’s communications system envisages the development of 100,000 miles of railways ; a million miles of macadam roads ; the improvement of existing canals, namely, the Hangchow-Tientsin and the Sikiang-Yangtze Canals ; the construction of new canals from Liaoho to Sunghwakiang, etc. ; river conservancy work ; and the construction of more telegraph lines and telephone and wireless systems all over the country. Of these, Dr. Sun’s railway plan needs to be further considered.

According to Dr. Sun, the whole of China should be covered by six or seven railway systems as tabulated below :—

<i>Systems.</i>	<i>Main Routes.</i>	<i>Provinces served.</i>
1. North-Western Railway System.	Great Northern Port in the Gulf of Peichili-- Livan Valley Dolon Nor.	Hopei, Jehol, and part of the four North-Eastern Provinces.
2. Extension of North-Western Railway System.	Dolon Nor Urumchi Kashgar.	Jehol, Mongolia and Sinkiang.
3. Central Railway System.	Besides the existing and projected lines, the following are to be constructed : (a) The Great Eastern Port Tarbogotai line. (b) The Great Eastern Port Urga line. (c) The Great Eastern Port Uliassutai line. (d) The Nanking Loyang line. (e) The Nanking Hankow line. (f) The Sian Tatung line. (g) The Sian Ninghsia line. (h) The Sian Hankow line. (i) The Sian Chungking line. (j) The Lanchow Chungking line. (k) The Ansichow Iden line. (l) The Chochiang Koria line. (m) The Great Northern Port Hami line. (n) The Great Northern Port Sian line. (o) The Great Northern Port Hankow line. (p) The Hwangho Port Hankow line. (q) The Chefoo Hankow line. (r) The Haichow Tsinan line. (s) The Haichow Hankow line. (t) The Haichow Nanking line. (u) The Sinyangkang Hankow line. (v) The Luszekang Nanking line. (w) The Coast line. (x) The Hwoshan Kashing line.	Provinces north of the Yangtze River. Mongolia and Sinkiang.
4. South-Western Railway System.	A net work of lines radiating fanlike from Canton :-- 1. Canton--Chungking via Hunan. 2. Canton--Chungking via Hunan and Kweichow. 3. Canton--Chengtu via Kweilin and Luchow. 4. Canton--Chengtu via Wenchow and Sinfu. 5. Canton--Kunming Tali--Tengchung Burma border. 6. Canton--Szemao. 7. Canton--Yamchow--Tunghing(on Annam border).	Szechwan, Yunnan, Kwangsi, Kweichow and part of Kwangtung.
5. South-Eastern Railway System.	The Great Eastern Port lies in Hangchow Bay. The projected lines are as follows :-- (a) The Great Eastern Port--Chungking line. (b) The Great Eastern Port--Canton line. (c) The Foochow--Chinkiang line. (d) The Foochow--Wuchang line. (e) The Foochow--Kweilin line. (f) The Wenchow--Shenchow line. (g) The Amoy Kienchang line. (h) The Amoy--Canton line. (i) The Swatow Changteh line. (j) The Nanking--Siuchow line.	

<i>Systems.</i>	<i>Main Routes.</i>	<i>Provinces served.</i>
	<p>(k) The Nanking--Kaying line.</p> <p>(l) The Coast line between the Great Eastern and Great Southern Ports.</p> <p>(m) The Kienchang -Yuanchow line.</p>	
6. North-Eastern Railway System.	<p>With a projected city which Dr. Sun called "Tung Chin," situated at a point south-west of the junction of the Sungari and Nonni rivers, as the centre, Dr. Sun proposes the following lines :--</p> <p>(a) The Tungchin--Hulutao line.</p> <p>(b) The Tungchin--Great Northern Port line.</p> <p>(c) The Tungchin--Dolon Nor line.</p> <p>(d) The Tungchin--Kerulen line.</p> <p>(e) The Tungchin--Moho line.</p> <p>(f) The Tungchin--Korfen line.</p> <p>(g) The Tungchin--Yaocho line.</p> <p>(h) The Tungchin--Yenchi line.</p> <p>(i) The Tungchin--Changpeh line.</p> <p>(j) The Hulutao--Jehol--Peking line.</p> <p>(k) The Hulutao--Kerulen line.</p> <p>(l) The Hulutao--Hailar line.</p> <p>(m) The Hulutao--Antung line.</p> <p>(n) The Moho--Suiyuan line.</p> <p>(o) The Huma--Chilalin or Shihwei line.</p> <p>(p) The Ussuri--Tumen--Yalu--Coast line.</p> <p>(q) The Linkiang--Dolon Nor line.</p> <p>(r) The Chikatobo--Sansing or Ilan line.</p> <p>(s) The Sansing or Ilan--Kirin line.</p> <p>(t) The Kirin--Dolon Nor line.</p>	North-Eastern Provinces (Manchuria), parts of Mongolia and Hopei.
7. Highland Railway System.	<p>(a) The Lhasa--Lanchow line.</p> <p>(b) The Lhasa--Chengtuo line.</p> <p>(c) The Lhasa--Tali--Cheli line.</p> <p>(d) The Lhasa--Taklongshong line.</p> <p>(e) The Lhasa--Yatung line.</p> <p>(f) The Lhasa--Laichiyaling line.</p> <p>(g) The Lhasa--Nohlo line.</p> <p>(h) The Lhasa--Iden line.</p> <p>(i) The Lanchow--Chochiang line.</p> <p>(j) The Chengtu--Dzusasak line.</p> <p>(k) The Ningyuan--Cherchen line.</p> <p>(l) The Chengtu--Menkong line.</p> <p>(m) The Chengtu--Yuankiang line.</p> <p>(n) The Suifu--Tali line.</p> <p>(o) The Suifu--Mengting line.</p> <p>(p) The Iden--Gortok line.</p>	Tibet, Kolkonor and part of Sinkiang, Kansu, Szechwan and Yunnan.

The total length of new railways to be constructed totals, as we have said, a hundred thousand miles. All the lines chosen conform to the following four principles : (1) The most remunerative field must be selected in order to attract foreign capital ; (2) the most urgent needs of the nation must be met ; (3) the lines of least resistance must be followed ; and (4) the most suitable positions must be chosen. In connection with the principle of adequate returns, Dr. Sun expounded the somewhat unorthodox doctrine that "a railway between a densely populated country and a sparsely settled country will pay far better

than one that runs from end to end in a densely populated land": and this for two reasons. In the first case there would be more freight traffic than in the second because "The workers of the new land have to depend upon the supplies of the thickly populated country in almost everything excepting foodstuffs and raw materials, which they have in abundance and for the disposal of which they have to depend upon the demand of the well-populated district." Passenger traffic would also be greater in the first case as a consequence of the migration of people from the densely populated to the sparsely populated areas.

Dr. Sun's scheme further contemplates the construction of thirty-one new harbours, both large and small. Of these, three will be the largest ocean ports with future capacities equalling those of New York harbour. They are the Great Northern Port in the Gulf of Peichili, south of Tientsin; the Great Eastern Port in the Hangchow Bay, south of Shanghai; and the Great Southern Port at Canton.

Of the rest, four will be second-class ports, namely, Yingkow in Liaoning Province, Haichow in Kiangsu, Foochow in Fukien, and Yamchow in Kwangtung. And nine will be third-class ports, namely, Hulutao, a Huangho Port situated at the estuary of the Yellow River, Chefoo, Ningpo, Wenchow, Amoy, Swatow, Tienpah, and Hoiho.

In addition, fifteen fishing harbours will be constructed, five along the northern coast, six along the eastern coast and four on the southern coast. The five northern fishing harbours are: Antung, Haiyangtao, Chinwangtao, Lungkau and Shitauwan; the five eastern fishing harbours are: Shinyang, Luszekang, Changtukang, Shipu, Luning, and Meichow; while the four southern fishing ports are Sanmei, Sikiang Kou, Hainan and Yulinkang.

Besides the above, commercial docks will be constructed along all navigable rivers.

Alongside harbours, and in all railway centres and termini, there will be built modern cities with public utilities.

On the industrial side, Dr. Sun suggests the development of such basic and key industries as water and electric power; iron, steel and cement, shipyards with an annual output of 2,000,000 tons of various kinds of vessels; locomotive and car factories and automobile factories. He also plans the mining of iron, coal, oil, copper and other minerals; the manufacture of mining machines; and the establishment of smelting plants. Finally, in his plan is included the establishment of such light industries as the food industry, the clothing industry, the housing industry, and the printing industry.

Limitation of space prevents us from presenting a more complete résumé of Dr. Sun's plan for the economic construction of China. For further details we refer our readers to Dr. Sun's own *International Development of China*, published on behalf of the London office of the Chinese Ministry of Information by Hutchinson and Co., London.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Ten-Year Plan.—Dr. Sun's plan for the economic reconstruction of China has been elaborated by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in his book, *China's Destiny*. With the technical co-operation of the Association of Chinese Engineers, he supplies the figures that are lacking in Dr. Sun's book. The two plans, therefore, complete each other.

Generalissimo Chiang's industrial scheme can be summed up in the following table outlining the ultimate targets and the amount of work to be done in the first ten years:—

<i>Items.</i>	<i>Ultimate Targets.</i>	<i>Amount of work to be done in the first ten years.</i>
I. CIVIL ENGINEERING.		
Railways	140,000 km.	20,000
Highways	1,500,000 ..	225,570
Harbours which can clear ...	186,000,000 tons	100,000,000
II. MACHINERY.		
Locomotives	24,000 units	3,000
Railway carriages and wagons	352,000 ..	44,000
Automobiles	7,677,210 ..	451,570
Merchant shipping	14,417,400 tons	3,043,300
Prime movers	40,000,000 h.p.	10,700,000
Machine tools	4,500,000 units	150,000
Other machinery	7,000,000 ..	1,500,000
III. ELECTRICAL MACHINERY.		
Electric power (electric and hydro-electric)	20,000,000 kw.	6,200,000
Telegraph lines	36,000,000 km.	36,000,000
Radio stations	3,000 stations	3,000
Radio Receiving Sets ...	18,000,000 units	18,000,000
IV. AIR TRANSPORT.		
Aeroplanes for civil aviation	120,000	12,000
V. NAVIGATION AND WATER CONSERVANCY.		
River Improvements :		
Navigable for steamers ...	30,000 km.	18,000
Navigable for junks ...	500,000 ..	200,000
New Canals navigable for steamers		
... ..	5,000 km.	1,000
Trade ports	1,200 ports	700
Embankment for flood prevention		
... ..	18,660 km.	18,660
Irrigation	250,000,000 Shih Mou (1 Shih Mou = 15 acre)	100,000,000
Water power... ..	10,000,000 kw.	200,000
VI. CONSTRUCTION.		
Residential buildings ...	50,000,000 houses	10,000,000
VII. CLOTHING.		
Cotton spinning spindles ...	10,000,000 spindles	3,000,000
Cotton looms	320,000 looms	96,000
Flax spinning spindles ...	277,000 spindles	83,100
Flax looms	15,700 looms	4,710
Woollen spinning spindles ...	580,000 spindles	174,000
Woollen looms	16,500 looms	4,950
Silk reeling machine	236,700 machines	71,000
Silk looms	94,000 looms	28,200
Bleaching, dyeing and printing machines :		
Type "A"	114 units	34
Type "B"	280 ..	84
Hosiery :		
Knitting machines ...	16,560 ..	4,970
Sewing machines	300,000 ..	90,000

<i>Items.</i>	<i>Ultimate Targets.</i>	<i>Amount of work to be done in the first ten years.</i>
VIII. PUBLIC HEALTH.		
Regional Health Centres ...	200 centres	100
District Health Centres ...	2,000 ..	2,000
Village and Town Health Centres	160,000 ..	80,000
IX. MINING AND METALLURGY (annual output after completion of first ten-year plan).		
Coal	150,000,000 tons	
Petroleum	1,774,000 ..	
Iron and Steel	5,560,000 ..	
Copper	25,000 ..	
Lead	13,000 ..	
Zinc	2,000 ..	
Aluminium	11,500 ..	
Tungsten Ore	25,000 ..	
Pure Antimony	20,000 ..	
Refined Tin	30,000 ..	
Mercury, refined	500 ..	

The American-Made Five-Year Plan.—Comprising in all no fewer than 3,400 pages, this five-year plan, drawn up at the request of the Chinese Government by the U.S. Foreign Economic Administration, with the co-operation of the Chinese National Resources Commission and the Chinese Ministry of Communications, is the most detailed plan that has ever been drawn up for the post-war industrialization of China. It entails in a period of five years a total expenditure of £467·5 millions, of which £125 millions will be devoted to the construction of railways, £40 millions to the construction of highways, £55 millions to the provision of automobiles, and £125 millions to the establishment of manufacturing factories.

Judging from the available figures, this American-made plan is comparable in many respects with the two we have just described in its comprehensiveness of scope and boldness of conception. In a sense, this plan can be considered as an elaboration of Generalissimo Chiang's plan as this plan is an elaboration of that of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Thus, Generalissimo Chiang's plan envisages an annual addition of 1,300 miles of new railways, 300 locomotives, 4,400 railway carriages and wagons, 4,500 automobiles, 560,000 tons of iron and steel, and 150,000,000 tons of coal. The corresponding figures advocated in the American-made plan are: 1,200 miles of new railways, 300 locomotives, 4,500 railway carriages and wagons, 15,000 trucks, 3,000,000 tons of iron-ore and 900,000 tons of steel, and 15,000,000 more tons of coal.

The following summary of the American-made plan is based upon reports published in Chinese newspapers.

Mining and Metallurgy: Development of antimony, tungsten, tin and mercury. Coal output to be increased by 15 million tons per annum, that of iron-ore by 3 million tons. Installation of three modern steel plants with an annual output of 900,000 tons.

Chemicals and Basic Refinery : Establishment of 105 chemical works for the manufacture of sulphuric acid, sodium carbonate, caustic soda, soda ash, chlorine, and ammonia. The manufacture of industrial and consumer goods from tung-oil, vegetable oils, cane sugar and fibres.

Manufacturing Industries : Establishment of 192 factories representing 62 kinds of industries. Special emphasis will be placed on transportation facilities, electrical appliances, radio installations, textile machinery, etc. Consumer goods such as clocks, watches, bicycles and sewing machines are also to be produced.

Motive Power : Electric power stations with a total output of 415,000 kw. Three hydro-electric power stations with a total output of 10,000 kw. Eleven cables for electric transmission of a total length of 1,000 miles. Private electric power stations of a total capacity of 475,000 kw.

Railways : Restoration of 5,000 miles of existing railways. Construction of 6,000 miles of new railways, together with the addition of 1,500 new locomotives, 22,800 railway freight trucks and 860 passenger carriages. Total expenses, including wages, £127,190,000.

Highways : Transformation of 20,000 miles of existing highways into first-class motor roads. Total expenses, including costs of constructing new roads, £41,400,000.

Construction of Waterways.

Automobiles : 75,000 trucks with 10,000 sets of automobile parts ; establishment of 1,400 fuelling stations and garages and 60 basic repair stations. Total expenses required, £55,750,000.

Establishment of Food Factories.

The American-made plan also provides for the training of industrial personnel, improvement of industrial hygiene, and the establishment of technical libraries.

Side by side with the above industrial plan, there is a scheme drawn up by the famous American Professor Savage, for the development of the Yangtze Valley. The Yangtze Valley Scheme is receiving a most enthusiastic welcome in China. After its model, the T.V.A., it is being called the YVA, Y standing for the Yangtze River.

The Revised Kuomintang Economic Programme.—Points from the revised Kuomintang economic programme adopted at the sixth (1945) National Congress of the Party are as follows :—

The primary task of the Government will be to assist the people in the production of the four necessities : food, clothing, shelter and means of travel.

To implement Dr. Sun Yat-sen's plan for industrial development, priority will be accorded to the development of communications and electric power and balanced development of agriculture and industry.

International co-operation to stabilize the exchange rate and the value of the Chinese dollar. China's foreign trade will be developed according to the needs that may arise from the industrialization of the country and the general advancement of the world.

Taxation shall be reformed and simplified.

Farmers' organizations shall be strengthened in order to protect peasant interests and improve their living conditions.

Labour organization must be developed, treatment of workers improved, and closer co-operation between capital and labour encouraged.

Social insurance and other social welfare work, particularly unemployment insurance and promotion of children's health, should be pushed forward.

III. CHINA WELCOMES FOREIGN CAPITAL AND SKILL

Economic Conditions Before the War.—The plans for economic reconstruction outlined in the previous chapter, though not officially *the* general economic plan, serve to give us some definite idea of what China is likely to do in the five or ten years after the war. Our next problem is to determine what China already has and what she still lacks. No information is yet available about the industries in the liberated parts of China. We can, therefore, only make an estimate of China's present industrial capacity. In this estimate, we shall take account of (1) China's pre-war industries, (2) the new industries of Free China, including the industrial co-operatives, and (3) industries which grew up in occupied China from 1931 to 1945. China's economic status on the eve of the outbreak of war can be conveniently presented in a table as follows :—

CHINA'S PRE-WAR ECONOMIC CONDITION

	1913	Pre-War
Railways	5,400 miles	8,750 miles (1931)
Highways		34,800 miles (1929)
Automobile		35,000 (1929)
Machinery (value of output) ...		820 mill. (1936)
Cotton Mills	28	148 (1936)
Cotton Spindles	1,210,000	5,585,066 (1936)
Cotton Looms		57,795 (1936)
Output of Cotton Cloth (1,000 square yards)		1,219,154 (1936)
Flour Mills (output)		27.6 mill. bags (pre-war)
Electric Power (million kw.h.)		2,445 (1937)
Coal (1,000 tons)	14,000	20,000 (1937)
Petroleum (barrels)		677,481 (1934)
Alcohol		2,780,000 gallons (pre-war)
Copper (tons)		471 (1934)
Tin (tons)		8,004 (1934)
Pure Antimony (tons)		10,575 (1933)
Tungsten (tons)		16,256 (1937)
Iron Ore (1,000 tons)	959	2,003 (1928)
Pig Iron (1,000 tons)	150	433 (1928)
Steel (1,000 tons)		50 (1937)

To gauge the relative importance of the different industries, we need another set of figures, which is provided in Professor Tawney's *Land and Labour in China*. Some \$600 millions' worth of goods produced by modern factories

in 29 cities in 1930 were distributed in the following ratios : Textiles 46·6 per cent., preparation of food and tobacco 17·1 per cent., clothing ·5 per cent., furniture ·2 per cent., educational supplies 1·1 per cent., chemicals 16·2 per cent., building 5·6 per cent., machinery 2·6 per cent., public utilities 3·6 per cent., construction of vehicles 5·8 per cent., and unclassified ·7 per cent. It is readily seen that before the war by far the largest proportion of China's industries consisted of consumer goods industries, including textiles, food, clothing, furniture, educational supplies, and chemicals, the proportion being 81·7 per cent.

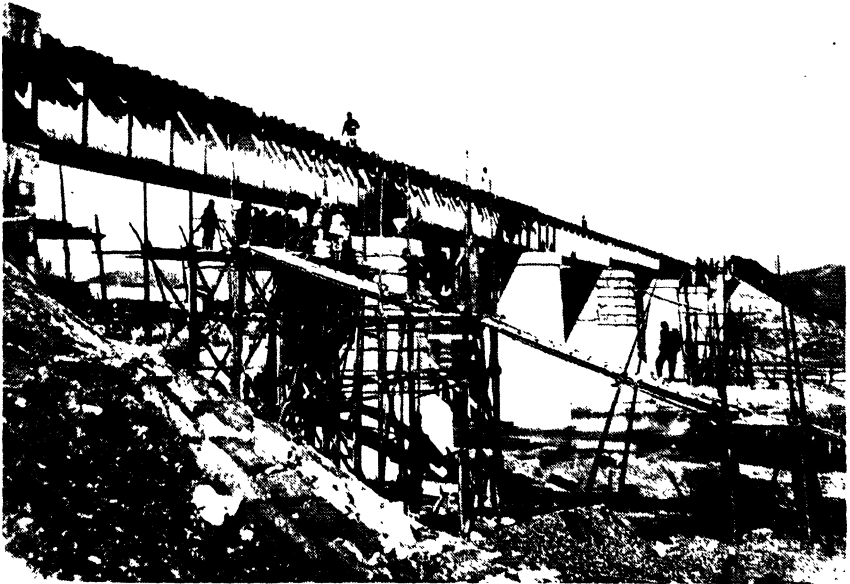
In 1933, Dr. D. K. Lieu made a thorough survey of 2,435 Chinese factories (not including those operated by foreigners in China). Of the total value of products, which amounted to C\$ 113,974,413, a little more than 9 per cent. were produced by the group of factories in the following fields : Metallurgical : machinery and metallic ware ; instruments of communication ; stone, cement, brick, earthenware ; construction material ; water and electric supply ; and miscellaneous. The proportion of consumer goods industries is, therefore, 91 per cent., a figure even higher than the one we have just arrived at ; but the two figures are not strictly comparable, since the one is supposed to include, and the other does not include, foreign firms in China. Again, according to Dr. Lieu, who was referring to Chinese factories only, although there were eight iron and steel mills in China in 1933, only five were then in operation. Of the acid and soda factories there were only two each in operation. There was not a single copper refinery nor any for the refining of oil ; and many other metallurgical and basic chemical industries were also lacking.

The implication of this is obvious. When China now begins to build her basic and key industries, there will be little heritage for her to fall back upon. It is also doubtful whether the light industries of China could have survived the devastation of war. These, as were the capital goods industries, were mostly concentrated along the coast and waterways of China. It has been estimated that, when the north-eastern province of Liaoning is taken into consideration, over 90 per cent. of China's modern factories, whether operated by Chinese nationals or by foreigners, were situated in the coastal provinces of China ; 56 per cent. of the total being again concentrated within the triangle with apexes at Shanghai, Hangchow and Nanking. Being within the area of actual fighting, many factories will have been destroyed. About China's cotton industry, a report written in the middle of 1938 says that the cotton mills in Tsingtao had been totally destroyed, and that in Shanghai the number of spindles and looms which were in a condition to resume working and had, in fact, resumed working, totalled 1,835,388 and 19,519 respectively. On the basis of this information, we come to the conclusion that about a third of China's pre-war cotton industry had been destroyed in the first year of hostilities. Two other forces had since then worked for the destruction of the remaining part, namely, obsolescence and wear and tear, and Allied bombing. To be on the safe side, we must at least assume that, by the time occupied China was freed of the Japanese, another third of China's pre-war cotton industry had been destroyed. The same may be true of China's pre-war industry as a whole.

The Industries of Free China.—The following two tables set forth the most important facts relating to factories employing 30 workers or more which have been established in what was known as Free China :—



INDUSTRIAL COMMUNICATIONS - ROAD TRANSPORT.



INDUSTRIAL COMMUNICATIONS RAILWAYS.



MANCHURIAN IRON FOUNDRY.



COTTON MILL, CENTRAL CHINA.

(C.O.I. Photo.)

INDUSTRIES IN FREE CHINA, 1942

<i>Industries</i>	<i>Number of Factories</i>	<i>Capitalization (Chinese \$)</i>	<i>Number of Workers</i>	<i>Motive Power (H.P.)</i>
Water and electric supply ...	123	143,414,236	4,618	51,213
Metallurgical ...	155	302,319,526	17,404	9,659
Metallic ware ...	160	23,304,200	8,291	2,064
Machinery ...	682	337,597,611	31,541	16,077
Electric machinery and appliances	98	93,044,850	7,197	8,561
Timber and construction material	49	5,668,362	1,839	582
Wood, stone and earthenware ...	122	64,400,276	10,651	4,084
Chemicals ...	826	559,220,372	36,140	24,835
Foodstuffs ...	360	83,435,600	11,447	9,705
Textiles ...	788	290,508,705	93,265	15,452
Clothing and attire ...	147	11,044,040	9,241	160
Cultural articles ...	224	21,422,441	7,320	657
Miscellaneous ...	24	3,645,816	2,708	145
Total (1942) ...	3,758	1,939,026,035	241,662	143,915

INDUSTRIES IN FREE CHINA, 1944

	<i>Factories (Total No. 5,266)</i>	<i>Capital (Total : C\$4,801,245,000)</i>
	o	o
Electric supply ...	2.07	3.54
Metallurgical ...	3.76	15.58
Metallic ware ...	6.40	2.81
Machinery ...	19.29	14.68
Chemicals ...	28.86	30.72
Foodstuff ...	11.41	9.71
Textiles ...	19.48	16.84
Clothing ...	3.46	1.35
Printing ...	2.91	2.21
Stationery ...	2.35	
Miscellaneous ...	-	2.56

The above tables include factories which were already in existence before the war, and they therefore duplicate our preceding table relating to China's pre-war economic situation. But, in fact, the industrial power of Free China before 1937 was negligible. There were only 67,000 cotton spinning spindles, 40,000 of which were subsequently destroyed in the fire of Changsha; the flour mills then produced only some 600,000 bags of flour per annum, and the coal mines no more than 2.4 million tons of coal. Again, the above table includes machinery salvaged from occupied China and subsequently set up in Free China. In December, 1939, it was estimated that refugee machinery was worth a total of C\$ 34,268,223. Without regard to price changes which had occurred during the interval, this amounts to no more than 1.78 per cent. of the total industrial capital in existence in China in 1942. In a rough way, we can say that the above tables represent the new achievements of Free China and is only to a small extent repetitive of the table showing China's pre-war economic condition.

The two characteristics of the factories in Free China are their tremendous rate of growth and the predominance of heavy industries. The number of factories employing 30 workers or more, including the refugee factories, has grown from the mere 200-300 of 1937 to a total of 3,758 in 1942 and 5,266 in 1944. Their output also increased by leaps and bounds. Using 1936 as the base year, the index numbers of production for 1942 are : Cotton yarn 404, flour 245, leather 850, soap 292, matches 260, coal 208, paper 1,700, white iron 151, steel 381, soda 202, sulphuric acid 3,333, cement 250, motors 9,400, workshop machinery 7,000, electricity 216. Again, using the monthly average of 1938 as the base, the general index of industrial production for 1944 is 494.09, the index of the production of capital goods 324.95, and that of consumption goods 920.36. Increases in the production of some individual commodities from 1938 to 1944 are shown in a table below.

From the last set of figures, it appears that the growth of the heavier or capital goods industries has lagged behind that of the consumption goods industries. Relatively speaking, this is the case ; but, considering the number of factories and the quantity of capital employed, the reverse is true. Thus, the same group of industries which we have referred to as heavy industries, including water and electric supply, metallurgical, metallic ware, machinery, electric machinery and appliances and wood, stone, and earthenware, but excluding chemicals, claimed 35.6 per cent. of the factories out of a total of 3,758 in 1942, as against 18.3 per cent. in 1930. The capital of this group makes up almost half the total capitalization of Free China's modern factories. In 1944, the " heavies " amounted to 31.52 per cent. of a total number of 5,266 factories and their capitalization was equivalent to 39.17 per cent. of the capital of all industries. These percentages should be much higher if we include in " heavy industries " the chemical industry. Before the war, the chemical industry was mainly concerned with the preparation of soap, cosmetics and other articles for direct consumption ; but since the outbreak of war it was increasingly catering for the needs of industries.

But in spite of the superhuman efforts of the Chinese and the splendid progress they have already achieved, the difficulties of communication with the outside world, and preoccupation with the war, had prevented them from succeeding in building up an industrial power more than a fraction of its pre-war capacity. The following table of industrial production speaks for itself :—

	1938	1943	1944	1944 as compared with pre-war China
Cotton spindles ...	—	300,000 (1942 est.)	—	$\frac{1}{14}$
Flour ...	—	—	1,200,000 (est.)	$\frac{1}{23}$
Coal ...	4.7 mill. tons	6.6 mill. tons	5.5 mill. tons	$\frac{1}{2}$
Pig iron ...	41,000 tons	70,000 tons	40,000 tons	$\frac{1}{10}$
Steel ...	900 tons	6,800 tons	13,000 tons	$\frac{1}{2}$
Petroleum, gaso- lene and kerosene	4,000 gal. (1939)	—	6,300,000 gal.	Increase over pre-war China
Alcohol ...	—	—	12,000,000 gal.	4 times
Electric power ...	35,000 kw.	46,000 kw.	70,000 kw.	—

Industrial Co-operatives.—The industrial co-operatives are an institution which has aroused world-wide interest and sympathy. Their achievements during the seven years of their existence fully justify their claim of having strengthened China's economic resistance to aggression by the production of daily necessities for troops and civilians and helping in national construction by the establishment of a sound co-operative basis for small industries. They are, moreover, a training ground for democratic self-government and for the skilled workers and organizers so indispensable to the China of the future.

The following figures illustrate the growth of the movement :—

	December, 1939	December, 1941	July, 1942
No. of Co-ops.	1,000	1,739	1,590
Membership		23,088	22,680
Average No. of Members per Co-op.		13.3	14.3

Readers will notice that, after the phenomenal growth of the first three years, there was a decrease in 1942 in the number both of Induscos and of their membership. This decrease, however, in no way indicates that the movement had suffered a setback. The slowing down of the rate of advance was due to a deliberate policy of consolidation. As explained by the general secretary of the co-operative headquarters in Chungking, "During this stage of consolidation many co-operatives have been reorganized or combined so that they can better meet the standards of a sound and promising co-operative, while in a few cases co-operatives have been dissolved when found too far below par." He further added that "the size and quality of the membership and productive efficiency of these co-operatives is improved by this process of consolidation."

As we are all aware, the most characteristic feature of the Induscos is their democratic character. The Induscos are owned by the workers ; their directors are elected by the workers, who are also the principal beneficiaries of the profits they make, as shown by the way in which the profits of a co-operative are usually divided :—

Reserves	20-30 per cent.
Emergency or contribution to the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives	10
Bonus to Staff	10
Common Good Fund for the Education and General Welfare of Members and Workers ...	10
Dividend to Members and Workers	40-50

The Induscos are thus a close approximation to the Lincoln and Sun Yat-sen ideal of government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The Induscos engage in such varied types of industries as the following :—
Machines and metal working, mining and metallurgical, textile, chemical, pottery, food supplies, transport and others. Of these, the textile industry is by far the most important, embracing 34 per cent. of the total number of societies. The percentages of factories in other industries were : Chemicals, 21.9 per cent. ; clothing and attire, 10 per cent. ; mining and metallurgy, 6.8 per cent. ; wood, stone and earthenware, 6.5 per cent. ; foodstuffs, 4.5 per cent. ; machinery and

metallic ware, 3·4 per cent. ; communication, 3·1 per cent. ; cultural products, 2·6 per cent. ; and miscellaneous, 7·9 per cent. The monthly output of the co-operative movement was valued at C\$ 14,478,792 in December, 1941, and C\$ 24,022,944 in July, 1942.

The resources of the Induscos come mainly from borrowing. The paid-up capital, plus loans of all co-operatives, in 1942 amounted to C\$ 17,257,720, of which C\$ 3,345,826, or 19·4 per cent., represented paid-up capital. As the total capitalization of industries in the same year, including the capital and loans of the Induscos, was valued at C\$ 1,956,283,755, the Induscos make up only 0·875 per cent. of the industrial strength of Free China. But, judging from the size of its membership and without regard to capital equipment or the fact that some co-operatives may have employed workers who are not members, we can say that the industrial value of the entire co-operative movement is about as good as a tenth of the pre-war cotton industry alone.

Occupied China.—To assess the immediate post-war industrial prospect of China, account should also be taken of the developments which have occurred in the North-Eastern Provinces (" Manchuria ") and other parts of occupied China. The following table relates to the North-Eastern Provinces :—

	<i>Increase of Production in 1937 over 1929 (in 1,000 metric tons)</i>	<i>Increase as Proportion of Pre-war Production</i>
Iron Ore ...	1,271	$\frac{1}{2}$
Pig Iron ...	445	$\frac{1}{1}$
Steel Ingot ...	427	
Coal ...	2,516	$\frac{1}{10}$
Coke ...	726	

The increase in the production of iron ore, pig iron and steel ingot has been substantial. But how much of the installations for these industries have survived the strategic bombing of the Allies and the deliberate destruction of the beaten Japanese it is difficult to say at present. Let us assume that a third has remained. New additions to the productive powers of industries in other parts of occupied China has been negligible, except perhaps in the case of coal, the export of which to Japan from North China was 3·8 million metric tons in 1940, as compared with ·39 million tons in 1933.

Summary.—The industrial heritage we could count upon immediately after the cessation of hostilities is, therefore, roughly as follows :—

One-third of pre-war industries.

All the industries built up in Free China, which, however, are only a fraction (1/11th–1/25th) of what China used to have before the war, except in the case of petroleum, alcohol and electric appliances.

One-third of the industries which the Japanese built up in the North-Eastern Provinces. These are strong in iron and steel, but deficient in other branches.

All in all, China's industrial capacity at the end of this war is unlikely to be much more than a third of what it used to be in pre-war days, though the production of individual commodities such as petroleum, alcohol, coal, iron ore, pig iron, steel and electric appliances may be expected to keep up with their respective pre-war levels. But even the entire pre-war industrial strength of China is much below our present industrial targets. The discrepancy therefore, is great between what we want and what we have. Our future task

is not merely to reconstruct, but to construct, and in some cases to construct from the very beginning.

Two Ways of Making Up China's Deficiencies.—If foreign capital were available to an unlimited extent, there would not be any difficulty in making up China's deficiencies. But if, on the other hand, no foreign capital were forthcoming, still China is determined to go ahead with her industrialization, and eventually will succeed. Broadcasting from London on the night of August 8th, 1943, Dr. T. V. Soong, new President of the Executive Yuan, said: "In our planning, although our political systems are different, we find an interesting example in Soviet Russia. In twenty-five years, from a principally agricultural country almost like ourselves, Soviet Russia has become a nation with an economy where industry is balanced with agriculture. How did she achieve it? She had little capital herself and she had the greatest difficulty in acquiring any capital from abroad. Yet, by dint of unrelaxed labour and by denying her people even daily necessities in order to find money with which to build her factories, Russia has achieved an industrial miracle. Russia did this by the hard way. In her case it was described as a terrific achievement at terrific cost to her people. After the war we feel that we shall not have to reach our goal by the hard way. But if we should have to do so, that is to say, without outside help, then with our new national spirit, like Russia, we shall not shrink from denying our people consumer goods in order that we may have our industries."

If thrown back upon their own resources the Chinese people would not only be denied consumer goods. It would take them an immeasurably longer time to accomplish the industrialization of their country. To quote the words of Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, "If we could (also) have the next century secure from foreign attacks, (such) a slow development might not be fraught with dangers. But if we have only five to ten years' respite, to proceed at (such) a snail's pace would be certain suicide." Dr. Sun Fo continues to point out another reason why we cannot afford to delay: "Even if peace could be ensured to us for the next century, modern industrial technique waits for none, and we either have to catch up or to lag behind, following at a leisurely pace with out-of-date methods and technique."

In order to avoid inflicting undue hardship on the common people, whose standard of living is already at the lowest possible level, and so as to build up her defensive power in the shortest possible time, China will, while she can, shun the hard way. Chinese leaders have always evinced the most enthusiastic welcome for foreign capital, recognizing at the same time that its use is not only a blessing to herself but to the lender as well. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *International Development of China* was, as it were, a card inviting foreign capitalists to participate in the opening up of the unlimited natural resources of China. In his message to the People's Political Council, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek said in 1943: "We feel that in planning for post-war economic reconstruction we should place equal emphasis upon our own exertions and international co-operation." Speaking to members of the China-America Council of Commerce and Industry at a banquet in San Francisco on June 4th, 1945, Dr. T. V. Soong said: "During my present visit to your country, I have been asked a number of questions concerning China's economic development . . . The most frequent question is whether post-war China will welcome foreign capital and skill. I can confidently say that the answer is simply 'Yes'." Similar quotations from these and

other Chinese leaders can be multiplied without end. But the most convincing proof of China's sincere welcome for foreign capital is found in the "Principles for China's Economic Development," passed by the Supreme National Defence Council in Chungking in December, 1944. As we shall see in the next section, it did away with all restrictions formerly imposed on foreign direct investments in China, regardless of the fact that their removal might expose China's infant industries to the keen competition of grown-up foreign enterprises.

China's Present Policy Towards Foreign Investments.—Before 1943, Sino-foreign joint enterprises in China were subject to the restrictions that : (1) Chinese shares should be over 51 per cent. of the total capital ; (2) a majority of the directors of the company should be of Chinese nationality ; and (3) the Chairman of the Board of Directors and the general manager of the company should be Chinese. Complaints were made that these restrictions were too stringent. In September, 1943, the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang took the first step in liberalizing these restrictions. Since then the Chinese Government, through the Executive Yuan and a special committee of the Legislative Yuan, made detailed studies to work out solutions to the problems of our post-war economic structure. In November, 1944, a set of general principles was submitted to the Supreme National Defence Council (S.N.D.C.) by which they were formally approved on December 28th, 1944. They were the above-mentioned "Principles for China's Economic Development" summarized below. These principles accord foreign investors a status equal in every respect to that enjoyed by Chinese business men.

The S.N.D.C. resolutions, as we have seen in a previous section, lay it down that the industrial development should be carried out along two lines : (1) By private enterprise and (2) by State enterprise. State enterprises are of two categories, State monopolies and State enterprises that are not State monopolies. Foreign capital can participate in all three categories of business here distinguished. But in State monopolies foreigners cannot become shareholders, though they are welcome to subscribe to the bonds which these monopolies, with the approval of the Government, may issue. It must, however, be noted that this restriction is by no means imposed upon foreigners alone ; it is equally applicable to Chinese nationals.

Outside the scope of State monopolies, foreign capitalists can become shareholders as well as bondholders. In the first place, they can co-operate with the Chinese Government or with Chinese private individuals in forming Sino-foreign joint enterprises. At the beginning of this section, we have referred to the restrictions to which Sino-foreign enterprises were subject before 1943. In the future, the Chairman of the board of directors of these enterprises must still be a Chinese. But the regulations governing the proportion of Chinese capital, the number of Chinese directors and the nationality of the manager have all been put aside. One of the principles adopted by the S.N.D.C. says : "No restriction shall be placed on the percentage of foreign shares of capital in any Sino-foreign enterprise." Another principle says : "In the organization of such a corporation it shall not be made a fixed rule that the general manager be a Chinese." In the case of Sino-foreign State enterprises, it is further provided that, "The Government, apart from exercising such administrative supervision as is provided by law, is entitled to participate in the management of all matters relating to the business, finance and personnel of such corporations solely in its capacity as a shareholder."

Besides Sino-foreign joint enterprises, foreigners may finance and operate their own enterprises in China. To do this, they are only required to fulfil two conditions : to observe Chinese laws and regulations, and to see to it that " The establishment of any important enterprise should be submitted to the examination and approval of the Government on the basis of the general plan for economic reconstruction."

Finally, in the case of certain special enterprises which require special authorization for their establishment and operation, special charters or franchises may also be granted to foreign nationals upon application to and approval by the Chinese Government.

The above description is based upon the " Principles for China's Economic Development " as approved by the S.N.D.C. The Chinese delegation to the International Business Conference, which met in New York on November 10th-18th, 1944, further declared that " in order to encourage foreign investment, we will provide a sound and simple taxation system to treat foreign investors exactly the same as Chinese investors ".

Furthermore, we have the assurance of Dr. T. F. Tsiang, former Director of the Political Department of the Executive Yuan and now head of the Chinese division of UNRRA, to the effect that " the Chinese Government is acutely conscious of the fact that some business people are hesitant because of the abolition of the old treaties, and is taking positive steps to remove the causes of that hesitancy ". Further, he says, " The Government will make a thorough examination of the laws of the country and so far as possible remove any provisions which might fail to provide foreign capital with that secure protection of law which it has the right to expect. The Government is also taking steps to improve the courts of China so as to ensure a just and efficient administration of the laws."

The Problem of China's Ability to Pay.—Chinese sterling bonds are now in default. Economists classify defaults into two classes : voluntary, due to the bad faith of the borrower ; and involuntary, due to his inability to pay. Since the beginning of British loans to China in the " eighteen-sixties " there has never occurred a single case in which China refused to honour her sterling debts so long as she was in a position to do so. In the " eighteen-eighties " Fenn's *Compendium of English and Foreign Loans*, said that the service on Chinese loans had been observed with entire punctuality. Substantially, the same verdict was repeated in 1943 by Mr. O. M. Green, who says in his *The Foreigner in China* that " Strongly as they (the Nationalists) had protested against the Reorganization Loan of 1913 to Yuan Shih-kai, they had never failed to pay the interest on it . . . Towards other loans . . . their attitude has been the same."

That in the last two or three decades China did default once or twice was due to sheer inability to pay. The first default on British loans occurred in the " nineteen-twenties ", when, for causes we have already analysed in the first chapter, the country was ravaged by internecine struggles ; and the second default occurred towards the end of 1938, that is more than a year after the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese war, and after the seizure by the Japanese of more than 80 per cent. of her customs and salt revenues upon which the majority of her sterling loans were secured. After the war, these causes for default may be expected to disappear. But in the minds of many a person in this country a new sort of question arises. Assuming political stability, what

will be China's ability to bear her foreign indebtedness, both direct and indirect?

Two problems are here involved: (1) The earning power of Chinese industries; and (2) the state of China's international balance of payments. Regarding the first question, it has been an established fact that capital in newly developed countries is more profitable than that in the older countries. For example, Mr. C. Clark has shown that even with the same amount of capital per unit of labour, capital in New Zealand, Australia and U.S.A. has a marginal productivity in the ratio 5:3:25. In the case of China, the following figures relating to the percentage of dividends paid by a number of foreign firms in China, including Hongkong, during the period 1921-25, have been collected by the Russian economist, L. Madjar. It should be pointed out that the names here given for the various firms may deviate slightly from those firms actually employed, since they have been re-translated from the Chinese text of Madjar's book.

PERCENTAGE OF DIVIDENDS PAID

<i>Name of Firms</i>	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	<i>Accumulated Reserve, 1924</i>
Bank of Chosen	10	4	7	6	9	Y11,420,000
Bank of Formosa	10	10	10	10	5	Y13,780,000
Sino-Belgian Bank	9	9	7	8	8	Fr12,279,000
Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China	20½	20½	20½	20½	20½	£4,000,000
Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation	24	24	20	20	20	£4,500,000
Chase National Bank	24	24	20	20	20	US\$7,695,000
Mercantile Bank of India	16	16	16	16	16	£1,350,000
Mitsubishi Bank	10	12	12	12	12	Y28,240,000
Yokohama Specie Bank	12	12	12	12	12	Y88,787,000
Hongkong and Whampoo Dockyard	40	24	18	8		
Engineering and Shipbuild- ing Co.	20	12	5	15		
Shanghai Shipbuilding and Engineering Co.	10	10	12	14	11	
Colman & Co., Tsingtao	46.6	26.6	26.6	23.3	10½	
Hongkong Electric Power Co.	15	15	12.5	25	25	
Hongkong Ropemaking Co.	30	30	30	20.5		
Chungking Coal Co.	25	24	5.5	4		
Luanchow Coal Co.	34	32	36	34		
Butterfield & Swire Co.	10	12	6	8		
Hongkong-Canton-Macao Shipping Co.	18½	21½	26½	20		
Shanghai Removing and Electric Co.	24	31	28	34	24	
Sally (?) Removing and Trading Co.	27.5	22.5	27.5	27.5	22.5	
Takai Removing and Elec- tric Co.	15	16	14	14	14	
Hongkong and Kowloon Wharf and Warehouse Co.	12	18	18	22	16	
Shanghai and Hankow Wharf Co.	13	15	13	14	10	

Mr. Madjar pointed out that in 1928 the dividend paid by 250 big enterprises in Great Britain averaged only 11·9 per cent. He further said that in order to judge the profitability of foreign firms in China, account should also be taken of the fact that each year the amounts they assigned to their reserve funds were two to three times those of firms in Great Britain. The logical conclusion to be drawn from the above statistics is obvious.

From foreign firms in China we shall turn to another set of figures, those relating to the profitability of Chinese railways. First, let us direct our thoughts to the end of the last century, when the battle for railway concession in China was raging at its height. Even the most cautious financial experts at that time believed that the shorter Chinese railways, like that running from Shanghai to Nanking, would pay and their belief had since been confirmed by subsequent events, except where the railways meet with severe competition from coastal shipping. But the longer lines were treated in a totally different light. "The head of Jardine's firm informs me," wrote Sir C. MacDonald, the then British Minister to China, "that the risk of a long trunk line is too great to permit them to undertake it." If it can also be established that even the longer trunk lines were a paying proposition, then the profitability of Chinese railways is a foregone conclusion.

Mr. K. G. Chang, former Minister of Railways, gave the following facts about three representative Chinese railways : —

Unit : CS Millions.

<i>Railway</i>	<i>Operating Profits</i>					<i>Loan Obligations</i>
	<i>5th Year</i>	<i>10th Year</i>	<i>15th Year</i>	<i>20th Year</i>	<i>25th Year</i>	
Peiping-Liaoning (Peking-Mukden)	6·258	9·362	10·466	7·756	18·78	1·05 2·07
Tientsin-Pukow ...	3·473	7·282	9·477	8·437		3·893 6·711
Shanghai-Nanking	3·473	1·976	3·035	2·496	1·352	1·00 3·00

The wide fluctuations in the amounts of loan obligations were mainly due to two factors, namely, fluctuations in the rate of exchange and the fact that repayments of loan capital were not required until some ten years after the railways had begun to operate. From the above table, it is clear that, while all the three railways earned on the average more than enough to meet their respective loan obligations, the longer Peiping-Liaoning and Tientsin-Pukow railways appear to be even more profitable than the shorter Shanghai-Nanking railway.

When we turn to discuss the problem of transfer, we shall at once come up against an insuperable difficulty : the lack of the requisite data. Here all we know for certain is that, for scores of years, China had been experiencing an unfavourable balance of trade. The figures, for instance, for the decade before the Sino-Japanese war are as follows :—

				Unit : C\$'000		
				<i>Imports</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Excess of Imports</i>
1928	...	...	...	1,863,320	1,544,531	318,789
1929	...	...	...	1,972,083	1,582,441	389,642
1930	...	...	...	2,040,599	1,394,166	646,433
1931	...	...	...	2,233,376	1,416,963	816,413
1932	...	...	...	1,684,726	767,535	867,191
1933	...	...	...	1,345,567	611,828	733,739
1934	...	...	...	1,029,665	535,214	494,451
1935	...	...	...	919,211	575,800	343,402
1936	...	...	...	941,545	705,741	235,803
1937	...	...	...	953,386	838,256	115,130

It is generally held that China's trade deficits were offset by foreign investments in China, by the remittances of overseas Chinese, and by such sundry items as the expenses of foreign garrisons in China, of foreign missionaries, and of foreign travellers. Let us examine for a moment the following balance of payments drawn up by the Bank of China for the year 1933 :—

<i>Credits</i>		<i>Debits</i>	
	C\$'000		C\$'000
Export of Goods	611,800	Import of Goods	1,345,600
Plus Amount of Exports Undervalued	61,200	Uncustomed Imports	134,600
Export of Gold	189,400	Service on Foreign Loans	93,000
Export of Silver	14,200	Profits of Foreign Business Investments	24,000
Remittances of Overseas Chinese	200,000	Expenses of Chinese Legations Abroad	6,000
Expenses of Foreign Travellers	10,000	Remittances by Foreign Residents in China	1,000
Expenses of Foreign Missionaries, etc.	50,000	Payments of Foreign Films	5,000
Expenses of Foreign Legations	30,000		
Expenses of Foreign Garrisons	100,000		
Expenses of Foreign Shipping in China	25,000		
Foreign Investments	30,000		
Profits from Foreign Stocks held by Chinese	5,000		
Unknown	282,600		
	1,609,200		1,609,200

It was pointed out that both the amounts of remittances by Chinese overseas and of profits arising from foreign business investments in China were, in the year under consideration, unusually low, owing to the fact that China and the world at large were then alike in the grip of an unprecedented general depression. From the above table, however, we can see that foreign investments in China, remittances of Chinese overseas, and other sundry items accounted for no more than part of China's international deficit, trade as well as non-trade. There remained an unknown quantity of C\$ 282.6 millions, a sum more than 63 per cent. of the combined total of the aforesaid items.

Until we can succeed in further analyzing this unknown quantity, it looks as if the best way of attacking the problem of transfer is the indirect approach. But to the question whether the total of the credit items (excluding specie movements) in China's international balance of payments were sufficient to meet the total of the debit items, the answer is not to be found in the way the rate of exchange fluctuated ; for, China being on silver standard, the rate of exchange was mainly determined by the gold price of silver, and not by the interplay of the forces of supply and demand. The movements of specie, however, may serve as a good indicator of the equilibrium or otherwise of the above two totals :—

IMPORT AND EXPORT OF GOLD AND SILVER

		1929	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Import	Gold ...	1.6	.2	.3		.5	2.5
	.. Silver ...	189.2	96.5	80.4	10.8	11.0	4.7
	Total ...	190.8	96.7	80.7	10.8	11.5	7.2
Export	Gold ...	4.6	99.5	69.6	51.5	39.2	43.1
	.. Silver ...	24.3	106.9	94.9	267.6	70.4	254.3
	Total ...	28.9	216.4	164.5	319.1	109.6	297.4

The above figures seem to indicate that for the year 1929, China had an excess of income from abroad over her outlay in international fields, resulting in a net import of silver and gold. Foreign investments in China at that time, or more exactly in 1931, had grown to some US\$ 3,242.5 millions from US\$ 1,610.3 millions in 1914 and US\$ 787.9 in 1902. Judging from the movement of specie, there is no doubt that China could then take on a much larger amount of foreign investment without causing any problem of transfer. As China had been a traditional importer of silver, the same statement perhaps holds true of most of the years before 1929. But since 1929, in view of the heavy exodus of specie, China was evidently facing some transfer difficulty. Transfer difficulties there were ; for one reason, the loss to Japan of the North-Eastern Provinces had deprived China of provinces which enjoyed substantial export surpluses. But the extent of China's financial deficit was not to be measured by the full amount of the specie outflow which, after 1934, was to a large degree the direct consequence of the American Silver Purchase Act.

Any net increase in China's exports, either visible or invisible, can be used to support some twelve and half times their amount of additional foreign investments, assuming that interest and amortization annually payable on foreign loans, and profits arising from business investments not reinvested in China but remitted abroad, all amount to 8 per cent. of capital value.

The question, therefore, arises whether China's export trade, both visible and invisible, can in the future be increased beyond its pre-war level. Let us consider the export of goods alone ; here the answer to the above question is in the affirmative. In 1937, the eleven most important agricultural products and minerals which China exported were, in the order of their importance (the figures in brackets indicate the value of the respective commodities as percentages of China's total export trade in 1937) : Tung oil (10.72), egg and egg products (6.30), raw silk (5.47), wolfram ore (4.86), drawn thread, cross-stitch work, embroideries and laces (4.86), furs (4.82), tin ingots and slabs

(4.74), raw cotton (3.73), tea (3.67), bristles (3.33), wool (2.80). If we examine the statistics for the four years from 1934 to 1937, we shall see that the exports of the above commodities increased steadily in value from year to year. The only exception was tea, the export of which fluctuated little during the years under consideration. Unless a new world-wide depression sets in, with the consequent flag in world demand and increase in international trade barriers, we can confidently expect that China's export trade will not only be able to quickly regain its pre-war level but to expand beyond that level.

Moreover there are new channels into which China's export trade can be pushed in the future. The sixth Kuomintang National Congress has suggested that special attention should be paid to increasing the sales abroad especially in markets formerly monopolized by the Japanese, of the following categories of goods : (1) Finished products based upon China's agricultural and mineral resources ; (2) products for the making of which labour plays the predominant part ; and (3) products of small industries and handicrafts. As industrialization proceeds, there will emerge other manufactured goods which can readily find a market in foreign countries, especially in places where there is a large concentration of Chinese emigrants.

What China Can Do for Great Britain.—The future prosperity of Great Britain will essentially depend upon a great expansion of her export trade. It has been advocated that in the years immediately following the war, Britain must increase her exports by 50 per cent. over their pre-war level. The expansion of Britain's export trade is intended to serve two purposes, as a means for maintaining full employment, and as a means for paying for Britain's imports.

Exports increase home employment only if their beneficial effects on employment are not wiped out by an equivalent increase in imports. From the point of view of Great Britain, an export surplus will be most helpful in solving her employment problems, while from the point of view of China, an import surplus is a natural state of affairs in the initial stage of her economic reconstruction. The interests of Britain and China are here at one. The following figures are an indication of the potentialities of the Chinese market :

<i>Material</i>	<i>U.K. Production, 1937</i>	<i>U.K. Export, 1937</i>	<i>China's Annual Requirements according to Chiang's Plan</i>
Locomotives		147	300
Railway Carriages and Trucks			4,400
Automobiles	493,000	57,395	45,000
Merchant Shipping	921,000 tons	67,265 tons (Hull & Fittings)	300,000 tons
Radio Receiving Sets		68,669	1,800,000
Aeroplanes for civil use		506	1,200
Looms		5,788	10,566
Sewing Machines		149,796	9,000
Iron (Pig)	8,629,000 tons		800,000 tons
Steel	13,192,000 "		2,588,000 "
Copper	7,500 "		108,000 "
Lead (Smelted)	10,300 "		111,900 "
Aluminium	19,300 "		54,140 "
Coal	244,267,000 "	40,338,030 tons	50,550,000 "

The above table is not meant to be complete ; it contains only those items for which comparable figures are easily available. It will readily be seen that, with the exception of railway carriages and wagons and sewing machines, China's post-war programme as outlined by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek is big enough or more than big enough to absorb the whole of Britain's 1937 exports of the commodities considered, namely, locomotives, automobiles, merchant shipping, radio receiving sets, aeroplanes, weaving looms, and coal. In the case of copper, lead, and aluminium, Britain's entire production in 1937 would be insufficient to meet China's planned needs. In addition, China can take up 20 per cent. of Britain's production of steel and 10 per cent. of pig iron. The above remarks give some idea of the possibilities of the future Chinese market in relation to Britain's export drive as an instrument for maintaining employment. Some of the articles required will no doubt be produced in China ; but in the first years at least China can only have a limited productive capacity in any of them.

When we turn to Britain's export drive as a means of acquiring foreign exchange, the picture is slightly different. The following set of figures, taken from *The Economist*, exhibits clearly the financial difficulty which Britain will have to face in the immediate post-war years :—

Balance of Payments of the U.K., average of 1936–38

<i>Debit.</i>		<i>Credit.</i>	
Imports	£930 m.	Exports	£540 m.
Government Payments ..	10 ..	Investment Income ..	200 ..
		Shipping Earnings ..	110 ..
		Commissions, etc. ..	40 ..
		Other Receipts	10 ..
			900 m.
		Deficit	40 ..
	£940 m.		£940 m.

It will be seen from the above figures that in the years preceding the war, almost half of Britain's imports was paid for by investment income, shipping earnings, and banking and insurance commissions. Profits from foreign investments, which amounted to more than half the total of Britain's invisible exports, will probably disappear completely after the war. Because these are either raw materials for her industries or essential to the maintenance of her people's standard of living Britain will not be able to reduce her imports. To make both ends meet, she will have to try to expand her exports. Whatever the purpose for this expansion, China needs Britain's exports just the same. But here will arise the problem of payments.

China can, of course, pay for her imports from Great Britain by, say, the Canadian dollars which she has acquired through selling goods to the Canadians. But, beyond a certain stage, it is evidently more in China's interest to use the Canadian exchange thus acquired as the basis upon which to build foreign loans of more than ten times its amount than to use it in payment for imports from any country.

As a second method, China can contract a loan from, say, Canada and with its proceeds pay for imports from Great Britain. China would no doubt gladly act in this manner. But the extent to which this solution is practicable will have to depend largely upon the wishes of the lenders. If the Canadian loan is a tied loan and the Canadians insist upon China making all her purchases in the dollar area, then no loan fund is available for the payment of imports from Britain. In fact, the Canadian loan would not entirely be a tied loan ; part of it, but no more than part, will be spendable in the sterling area. To that extent the problem of financing Sino-British trade is solved ; but the solution is not complete.

The trouble lies in the Canadian loan being a tied loan. If an international institute, such as the International Reconstruction Bank, consents to undertake loans the proceeds of which can be spent anywhere, then the problem of payments will at once cease to be an obstacle in the way of Sino-British trading. Loans made by the International Reconstruction Bank can, of course, be spent anywhere ; but it is a question whether in the immediate post-war years, the International Bank is ready to make or guarantee loans for the development of economically backward countries. So we cannot find here a complete solution to our problem.

But there are creditor countries in the sterling area. The best solution of our problem of payments is perhaps to be found in China borrowing from such members of the sterling area. The proceeds of loans thus contracted are spendable anywhere within the area.

In the years immediately after the war, Britain will probably be more interested in the problem of acquiring foreign exchange than in that of maintaining employment. Failure to find a solution of the problem of payment does not mean that Sino-British trade will be impossible in the post-war world. But unless a satisfactory solution is found, Sino-British trade will not be able to reach the magnitude which it would otherwise attain.

IV. THE PLACE OF AGRICULTURE IN A SCHEME OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Aims of an Agricultural Policy.—Agricultural improvements have a purpose of their own : the raising of the people's standard of living. From this point of view, industrialization is, in the long run, no more than a servant of the master—agriculture, for one, the main function which industrialization is intended to fulfil, is just to subserve this aim of improving the lot of the rural masses. But from the short-term point of view, industrialization is both a servant and a master to whom agriculture must be subordinated. To help further the cause of industrialization, an agricultural policy must strive to achieve the following objectives : (1) To provide goods for export ; (2) to provide raw materials for industry ; and (3) to increase the nation's supply of food.

The important place occupied by agricultural products in the exports of China can be gauged from the following export figures relating to the two pre-war years :—

EXPORTS FROM CHINA

	1936		1937	
	<i>Actual Value</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>	<i>Actual Value</i>	<i>Percentage of total</i>
	(C\$'000)		(C\$'000)	
Food and Tobacco	154,301	21.86	160,751	19.18
Raw material and semi-manu- factured goods	434,924	61.63	543,262	64.81
Manufactured goods	91,878	13.02	106,586	12.71
Miscellaneous	24,639	12.49	27,657	3.30

In each of the years under consideration, agricultural produce, together with minerals and semi-manufactured goods, constituted more than 80 per cent. of the exports from China. At least in the years immediately after the war, China must continue to rely mainly upon the export of agricultural products to provide the means for obtaining machinery from abroad and for meeting the profits and interest on foreign investments.

The importance of agricultural improvements to the post-war industrialization of China is doubly clear when we examine the statistics of China's imports. Though a predominantly agricultural country, China was importing, in 1936 and 1937, almost as much foodstuff, and half as much raw materials, as she exported. If, through agricultural reforms, these imports can be reduced, then China will be able to increase her import of machinery to an equivalent extent.

But the increased production of food is the most important objective of all. Industrialization presupposes a migration of labour from the country to the towns. The fewer people that remain in the rural areas must be able to produce at least the same amount of food as before, which means that their output per head must increase sufficiently to compensate for the loss of agricultural labourers who have gone to the factories. Not only this. As more and more land is being diverted to the production of goods for export and industrial raw materials, the fewer people remaining should be able to grow at least the same aggregate amount of food, not on the same, but on a smaller, area. In the following pages, though our main concern is with measures designed for increasing the production of food, it is clear that these measures apply equally to the production of goods for export and industrial raw materials.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Land Policy.—Measures for agricultural improvement are divisible into three main classes: institutional measures, economical measures and technical measures.

Institutional measures are those relating to land ownership and tenure and the organization of farms. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's land policy may conveniently be discussed under three headings: (1) The nationalization of land; (2) the equalization of land ownership; and (3) peasant ownership. As evidenced by the resolutions passed at the sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang, nationalization is being conceived on a limited scope only. It is confined to "All lands in open areas." It can be inferred that the Kuomintang land policy is to leave, as far as possible, the ownership of lands now in private hands intact.

The policy of the equalization of land ownership applies mainly to urban land in private ownership. It is to be implemented by a tax on the unearned increments in the value of land. The first step in carrying out the programme is, therefore, to fix the value of land. In this connection Dr. Sun suggested the landowner himself fixing the price of land. But to prevent the landowner making too high an assessment, the Government will impose a tax on land according to its declared value ; and to prevent the landowner from reporting too low a value, the Government is empowered to buy up the land at the declared price. After the land values have been fixed, all increases in them shall revert to the community. " This is because," says Dr. Sun, " the increase in land values is due to improvements made by society and to the progress of industry and commerce " ; the credit for the improvement does not merely belong to the efforts of a few private individuals.

The promotion of peasant ownership is a problem relevant to the subject under discussion, namely, the increase of agricultural production. The policy is intended to serve the triple purpose of eliminating rent, of abolishing absentee ownership, and of increasing the interest of cultivators in the lands they till. A few figures will make these points clear. Sample studies show that about 46 per cent. of Chinese peasants are independent farmers. Of the other 54 per cent., a little under half (24 per cent.) are part-owners, while a little over half (30 per cent.) are tenants pure and simple.

To their landlords tenants have to pay as rents anything from 34·18 per cent. to 54·21 per cent. of their total receipts in money and kind. The average rent is 43·22 per cent., varying from province to province as the table below shows : --

<i>Province</i>	<i>Rent as Percentage of total receipts</i>
Kiangsu	37·44
Chekiang	45·30
Anhui	34·18
Kiangsi	48·73
Hunan	41·67
Hupei	46·65
Hopei	54·21
Shangtung	49·95
Honan	47·14
Shansi	39·15
Shensi	42·10
Suiyuan	37·14
Fukien	35·41
Kwangsi	35·48

Average 43·22

The payment of exorbitant rents is objectionable in another respect, that they largely go to the benefit of absentee owners, who, amounting to no more than 5 per cent. of the population, own anything from 30 per cent. to 70 per cent. of the agricultural land in any locality.

In 1942, the Farmers' Bank of China issued C\$ 100 millions' worth of land bonds. Among other objects, they were used for the tenant farmer to purchase land and for the peasant owners further to develop farming. The bonds were to be given as payment to landowners, but could also be sold by the Government

in the market for cash. Registered, the bonds were in denominations of 50, 100, 500, 1,000 and 5,000 Chinese dollars. They were to be repaid by instalments in fifteen years with interest. Their security consisted in the C\$ 10 millions capital of the land finance department of the Farmers' Bank and mortgages credited to the department as collaterals. The experiment was first tried out in Szechwan, Kwangsi, Kansu, Hunan and Fukien.

As was pointed out by Dr. C. C. Wu, whether farmers would be benefited by such schemes as the one described above depends largely upon what rate of interest will be charged them on the money they borrow. A rate of interest as high as 10 per cent. should be considered exorbitant. The average cost of a hectare of land was, before the war, about C\$ 620, whereas the value of its output was about C\$ 183.45. As landowner, the farmer had to pay land tax equal to 10 per cent. of the produce of his land, i.e., C\$ 18.3; and as borrower, he had to pay interest equal to 10 per cent. of the money he borrows, i.e., C\$ 62. The two items together would take up 43.8 per cent. of his entire annual income, which was not less, but slightly more, than the average rent he would have to pay had he remained a tenant farmer.

The Size of Farms. - A problem which is of equal importance to that of the ownership of land is that of the size of the average holdings. The average holding of land per family and per person in the various provinces of China are set out in the following table (Unit : Chinese Mou) :—

Province	Average Holding per Family	Average Holding per Person
Kiangsu	14.33	3.80
Chekiang	14.35	3.76
Anhui	15.98	2.56
Kiangsi	19.85	3.52
Hunan	13.88	2.78
Hupeh	12.69	2.51
Szechwan	11.37	2.28
Hopei	22.75	4.21
Shantung	19.31	3.70
Honan	23.16	4.22
Shansi	34.52	7.45
Shensi	28.51	5.02
Kansu	28.84	5.48
Fukien	13.08	2.43
Kwangtung	8.22	1.18
Kwangsi	13.19	2.80
Yunnan	13.88	2.78
Kweichow	39.50	9.17
Average	18.41	3.68

As one English acre is equivalent to 6.66 Chinese *Mou*, the average size of a Chinese farm is 2.76 acres. Compared with Netherlands' 14.28 acres, Germany's 21.59, Denmark's 39.74, England and Wales' 63.18, and the U.S.A.'s 156.85, a Chinese farm must be considered too tiny and, therefore, too uneconomical. What is worse is the fact that, notwithstanding the smallness of the holdings, they are usually split up in strips scattered about in widely separated areas.

It has been estimated that there are on the average as many as six strips to a farm.

One cause for the fragmentation of land and the smallness of farm holdings was the Chinese system of equal inheritance. An attempt was recently made to remedy this situation by the Sixth (1945) National Congress of the Kuomintang, which resolved that no farm of less than a certain minimum size could be further subdivided. But a more fundamental cause is rural over-population. The most effective answer to this problem is industrialization ; much, however, can still be done in the rural sphere to enlarge the size of farms.

One method is the reclamation of waste land. Estimates of the reclaimable land in the eighteen provinces of China vary from Professor Buck's 23 million acres, a bare tenth of the area now under cultivation, to Dr. O. E. Baker's 350 millions, or more than one and a half times the present cultivated area. According to the Chinese National Agricultural Research Bureau, the reclaimable land in the eighteen provinces is estimated at 110 million acres. According to this estimate, therefore, the present cultivated area can be increased by some 48 per cent., a figure not so optimistic as that of Dr. Baker, but less conservative than that of Professor Buck. During the war, reclamation work has been performed along two lines : (1) The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry directly operates a number of reclamation districts, and (2) efforts are being made to direct provincial authorities and people to engage in similar undertakings. In the interior provinces, waste land reclaimed by private effort amounted, by August, 1942, to 125,000 acres, and that by Government organs about 50,000 acres.

The handicaps arising from the fragmentation of land and the smallness of holdings could also be partly surmounted by the collectivization of farms. It was resolved at the Sixth (1945) National Congress of the Kuomintang to encourage co-operative and collectivist farming. One of the reasons for and advantages afforded by collectivization is that it enables the small farmers to use machinery. The question arises, however, of whether it is economical to use machines on land. According to Professor Buck, the present method of cultivation by buffaloes, which costs four Chinese dollars per hectare, is definitely cheaper than the use of a tractor, which costs two and a half times as much. But this is not yet the final verdict on the case ; for it has still to be ascertained whether and, if so, to what extent the use of machinery, by giving the soil a deeper ploughing, would improve the productivity of the land. But, as has been pointed out by Dr. Baker, there would certainly be immense scope for the use of machinery in the semi-arid land which represents almost the entire arable land not at present being used for cultivation. This semi-arid land would not provide a bare subsistence for man and beast ; but, in the opinion of Dr. Baker, winning light crops from it by tractor cultivation would be a paying proposition. Moreover, as the industrialization of China proceeds, and rural labourers becoming more and more scarce, machinery will have to be used for replacing the higher-priced labour. All in all, the prospect of the mechanization and therefore of the collectivization of Chinese farms is good.

The Economics of Chinese Farming.—From the institutional aspects of Chinese agriculture, we now turn to its economic aspect. It is often said that land in China has been intensively cultivated. The saying is true in respect of the amount of labour devoted to each unit of land ; but not so with regard to

the quantity of capital employed. The following figures show the distribution of operational costs of an average-sized farm :—

					%
Land	...	...	...	...	87
Farm implements	...	...	...	...	2.8
Animal	...	...	...	...	1.7
Construction	...	...	...	...	7.3
Seed	...	...	...	...	.2
Others	...	...	...	...	1.0

If anything could be inferred from the above figures, they show that Chinese farming has hardly been influenced by modern chemical and mechanical improvements. Nor by modern biological and physiological improvements either, for to mention only one thing, on the initiative of the Government, Chinese farmers have only begun to use selected seeds. Professor Buck has stated that "Perhaps a 25 per cent. increase in the total production by more intensive methods of cultivation and by modern technique would be a conservative estimate of the possible increase economically in China's agricultural production with the known methods of agricultural production." This conclusion is not confirmed by more recent studies. It has been pointed out that the use of superior varieties of plant could increase output by some 15 per cent. and the use of better seeds could increase the present yield per acre by 20–30 per cent. ; that the successful control of pests and plant disease could increase the crop yield by another 15–20 per cent. ; that, if ammonium sulphate were applied to fields in the south-eastern provinces, the production of rice could be increased 40 per cent., that of wheat 23 per cent., and that of cotton 23 per cent. ; and, finally, that the crop in small irrigated areas of Shensi was quite three times that of the non-irrigated areas in the same locality. On the basis of such evidence as the above, Dr. C. C. Wu concludes, "Should newer farming methods prevail the per acre yield in China would undoubtedly be doubled."

Section VI

CO-OPERATIVES

FOREWORD

By a happy chance Lu Kuang-mien came to England while this series of pamphlets was in preparation. In spite of his many duties and engagements, he was prevailed upon, as one of the pioneers of co-operation in China, to write for us an account of Chinese co-operatives from the inside. He received the whole-hearted assistance of Mrs. Jessie Booth, of this Ministry, herself a co-operator (to say nothing of that of other members of the staff), and the result is an authoritative record, which will, for some time to come, be a work of reference on one of the most successful of China's wartime efforts. The author, however, is not content with looking backward ; he foresees a struggle for survival in the resurgence of industry in his country, and he outlines a plan whereby Chinese co-operatives can take their full part in world co-operation.

NEVILLE WHYMANT.

Chinese M.O.I.

February, 1946.

Section VI

CO-OPERATIVES

THE CHINESE INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVES

- I. Brief sketch of the history of the Chinese Co-operative Movement.
- II. Birth of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives.
- III. Industrial Co-operatives in North-West China.
 1. Economic importance of the North-West.
 2. How work was started.
 3. How an industrial co-operative works.
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- IV. The Co-operative Federations.
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- V. Education, Training and Social Welfare Works.
 1. Training of staff members, organisers and accountants.
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 3. Women's work : --
 - (a) Primary Schools.
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 - (c) Women's Clubs.
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- VI. Post-war Reconstruction of China and the Industrial Co-operatives.
 1. Post-war economic reconstruction.
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- VII. International Co-operation.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN CHINA UP TO 1937

The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives organisation was born at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese war. It has helped greatly in the general mobilisation of China's material and manpower, and as a result has given education, employment and encouragement to thousands of refugees and displaced workers. (Up to March, 1944, there were 1,738 co-operatives with a membership of 25,683.) The C.I.C. have made a substantial contribution towards the needs of the army

and the people during the war and they have demonstrated the ability of the common people to organise, feed and clothe themselves and their army with a minimum of capital and resources and under very adverse conditions. If this great venture in co-operative enterprise could be achieved during a devastating war, how much more might be possible under peaceful conditions?

Before making a detailed study of the history and functions of the C.I.C., it is thought that a brief survey of co-operation in China would be useful to British readers. It is therefore proposed to trace the development of the co-operative movement in China as a whole up to 1937.

The co-operative way of life is not new to the people of China. It has been practised in her families, in her villages and also in business during the whole of recorded history.

The Chinese family itself, with its three or four generations under one roof, is an economic unit. Every member of the family, regardless of whether he or she works or not, receives a share of the family income according to his needs. It is a form of collective economy. It has given security to all its members, old and young, ill and well. In spite of the disintegration of the family which began after the revolution and increased during the war, the responsibility of the family for all its members relieved the Government of many of its obligations to the unemployed, the refugees and the wounded soldiers during the war years.

In the village, co-operation has always been practised in a number of forms. For example, after a bumper harvest, many families in a village would make a voluntary contribution to a collective storage granary. This store would be opened in times of scarcity and the grain distributed to those in need.

Another feature of village life is the practice of setting up Money Loan Societies by means of which farmers help each other to buy seeds, tools, material for house-building or for any productive enterprise without recourse to money-lenders. For example, ten men will promise to pay 10 dollars each a month. Then the man who initiated this particular scheme and who obviously was in immediate need of money would draw 100 dollars, and each succeeding month another man would draw 100 dollars until at the end of 10 months each participant had had the advantage of a large sum of money at one particular time.

Another popular organisation of the Chinese village is the Green Crop Society. When the crops are young they need to be protected not only against theft, but against the depredations of straying animals. For this purpose a Green Crop Society is formed and the Society employs a number of persons to watch the farms collectively. This is a much better form of protection than for each farmer to arrange it himself. Individual watching often breaks down, whereas a paid group responsible to a number of farmers is likely to do the job much more thoroughly.

Funerals, weddings and family celebrations generally cost much money, and the Chinese farmer has developed a way of celebrating without undue cost. Each village will possess, in common, chairs, tables and other accessories required for entertaining numbers of people. When a celebration is contemplated the common things are borrowed and everyone in the village will

voluntarily help at the ceremony. This co-operative practice on the part of villagers again keeps them out of the hands of moneylenders and discourages unwise spending. Without co-operation the specialised life of the Chinese village would not be possible.

* * * *

The modern co-operative movement, based on democratic control, and with Western methods of organisation, has been a growth of the last thirty to forty years.

One of the pioneers of Chinese co-operation was Hsueh Hsin-chow. Hsueh was a student in Germany and while there was much impressed by the work of the German Co-operative Credit Societies. On his return he took up a post as professor in the Fudan University in Shanghai. He wrote a great deal about the co-operative movement in Germany, and in 1909, together with students and professors of his university and some outsiders interested in his proposition, he organised the first credit co-operative society in China (The Shanghai People's Co-operative Savings Bank). The society did not prosper for long, however, and did not survive the death of Professor Hsueh. The idea, however, remained.

In 1920 there was a big famine in North China. It was one of the worst famines for many decades. Many relief organisations were set up in China and abroad. When the work of helping the famine-stricken people came to an end, the various societies participating in the relief work joined together to form the China International Famine Relief Commission. The idea was to have a permanent body to act as a link for all relief societies and to concentrate on the prevention of famine conditions rather than spend all their income on relief afterwards. With this policy in view, the first project sponsored by this Commission was the organisation of Farmers' Co-operative Credit Societies. These societies were prepared to help members in difficult times by the loan of money at a very small rate of interest for the resettling of land temporarily out of use because of drought or flood. A committee, set up by the Commission, drew up a constitution and set of rules for the conduct of the society. In the latter part of 1922 the initial capital of 20,000 dollars was put aside by the Commission for loans. Early in 1923 the first credit co-operative society was established in Laishui, near Peking (now Peiping).

The idea spread to neighbouring districts in the following years and more capital was allotted for this purpose. Up to 1929 there were altogether 946 credit societies with a membership of 25,727, and a paid-up share capital of 45,748 dollars. Co-operative societies were functioning in 28 districts in the province of Hopei in 1929. Although the work of the CIFRC was not able to extend beyond the borders of Hopei, the experience gained during those years has been of inestimable value to later developments. Similar attempts in co-operative organisation were undertaken in the South by social and educational institutions in an endeavour to improve the lot of the farmers.

One of the most important centres of co-operative activity was in Nanking, where the staff and students of Nanking University took a leading part in its organisation. The extent of its development was, however, insignificant when compared with the achievements of the co-operatives of the North until the

advent of the National Government in Nanking in 1928, who put the organisation of co-operatives in the forefront of the programme for national rural reconstruction. Dr. Sun Yat-sen has stated clearly in his writings that the co-operative movement should occupy a very important place in the realisation of the principle of the people's livelihood and this direction was accepted by the first National Government. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had a great admiration for the British Co-operative Movement, which he studied while he was in England. He was of the opinion that the co-operative method presented the most practical way of changing from capitalism to socialism. It avoided doctrinaire Marxism and class war and provided the more reasonable and middle way for progress towards socialism. Here are Dr. Sun's words on the subject :—

“ The world is making progress and initiating new reforms every day. Take, for example, the practice of the British Co-operative Societies in the socialisation of distribution. These societies are organised by workers. If the workers buy their clothing and food indirectly through merchants, the merchants will demand a profit, thus increasing the price of the goods. The workers themselves, therefore, open their own stores and sell what they need. In this way they can buy from their own store. The supplies are handy and cheap and at the end of every year surplus profit is divided among the customers in proportion to their purchases. A large number of productive factories in Great Britain are now run co-operatively. The rise of co-operative trading concerns has meant the strengthening of opposition to capitalism. Those who once looked upon these stores as unimportant projects now regard them as powerful organisations.”

As a result of the high place accorded to co-operative trading in the programme of the Government, two Farmers' Banks were opened in the provinces of Kansu and Chekiang with the chief object of promoting and financing Farmers' Co-operative Societies. Later, Farmers' Banks were opened in Hunan, Shantung, Kiangsi, Anhwei, and Hupeh. Co-operative administration offices for the extension of co-operative organisation were set up under provincial governments.

A wave of reconstruction fervour then covered the country, and numerous social and educational institutions for reconstruction sprang up aiming at the general improvement of the livelihood of the people. They all took an interest in the development of co-operative enterprises and the number of co-operative societies increased rapidly. In 1935, the first National Co-operative Conference was held in Nanking and resulted in the promulgation of the Chinese Co-operative Law.

Up to 1937, there were altogether 64,565 societies with a membership of 3,112,629. Most of the co-operatives were credit societies accounting for over 70 per cent. of the total and the rest were marketing, consumer and supply societies.

An illustration of the enthusiasm and the rapidity of the growth of the Co-operative Movement at this stage can be found in the personal experience of the author. In 1932, as a member of the faculty of Yenching University, he was entrusted to make an investigation on the organisation of the cotton market in Central Hopei. He found that nearly 80 per cent. of the land in the area covered by his trips of investigation was growing cotton. Though cotton

is a commercial crop, the farmers knew very little about the market, which was completely in the hands of merchant middlemen. The farmers did not own any machinery for processing and ginning, and packing and shipping were handled by merchants. The merchants were also the moneylenders of the locality and the farmers were mostly in debt to the merchants. They had to deliver their seed cotton to the merchants immediately after harvest at a very low price. The author therefore called a halt to further investigation and began to preach the organisation of co-operative marketing, which was favourably received by the cotton-growers.

An interesting but very risky experiment was then attempted. The idea was to sell the cotton directly to the manufacturers in the primary market. An initial loan was needed in order to pay some of the essential debts of the farmers and also to cover various processing expenses so as to make it possible to transport the cotton to the primary market for sale. He was not able to persuade any bank to give such a loan and later a temporary loan of \$2,000 was obtained from private sources. Despite numerous difficulties, it was possible, after three months of strenuous efforts, for the farmers to market co-operatively in Tientsin altogether 104 bales of cotton (about 200 *piculs*). Although overhead charges were high in relation to the small quantity of cotton handled, the farmers were still able to get a net price, after deducting all costs and expenses, of 10 per cent. above what they would have got by selling privately and locally.

In the following year, a new organisation in North China, namely, the North China Farm Products Marketing and Research Committee, was formed jointly by Nankai University, the Mass Education Movement and the Kuicheng Bank Corporation.

Later, three other universities, Tsinghua, Nanking and Yenching, also joined. Besides doing research for the improvement of crops, the Committee also did everything within its power to help in the promotion and extension of the Co-operative Marketing Movement among the cotton-growers in Central and South Hopei. The attitude of the banks had changed completely by this time and they were now willing to extend loans to the co-operatives at a very reasonable rate of interest. The movement expanded to cover 52 districts during the next few years and the co-operatives put up a number of plants for ginning and packing. In 1936, four years later, the farmers were able to market co-operatively, through their own societies, cotton totalling over 30,000 bales (each bale -- 500 pounds).

Thus, the first thirty years of co-operative development in China was an era of rapid expansion. Though spontaneity on the part of the Co-operatives was not completely lacking, the growth of the movement was clearly the result of the support of the Government and other social and educational institutions. The roots of the movement were thus not firmly implanted when Japan started her expedition in 1937. Most of the districts where the bulk of the co-operative work was located were overrun by Japanese forces and the co-operative structure, still in its infancy, was not strong enough to survive such a catastrophe. Yet the co-operative ideals tested in practice and the experience gained during the first thirty years of pioneering work have not been forgotten and have helped greatly in the co-operative development of later years, particularly in the work of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives.

BIRTH OF THE C.I.C. MOVEMENT

When the war started in 1937, it was immediately realised that China was confronted with the gravest life-and-death struggle in all her long history. Should the Chinese people be forced back into agricultural feudalism as a colony for Japanese exploitation or should they march forward with the free and independent peoples of the earth? Should the resources and labour-power of China be turned over to the Japanese, or should they be utilised by the Chinese themselves?

Japan was waging against China a "total war" of aggression. She was destroying and seizing many of China's most advanced economic bases. In the seizure of the Shanghai area alone, Japan immobilised nearly 70 per cent. of China's modern industry.

"An army marches on its stomach." Military resistance was only possible so long as China's economic bases—the means of production and production itself—were kept functioning and beyond reach of the enemy. China must rebuild her industrial bases and that immediately; otherwise she could not hope to survive. How could this be done?

It would not be too easy, because China had little capital. There was little heavy industry available to make machinery for big factories. Conditions were too unstable for big factories to be built except in the farthest corners of the most remote provinces. China's modern transport was almost exclusively needed for military purposes. No transport was available to carry manufactured goods from the great cities to the markets in the interior. No immediate boycott against Japanese goods could be organised because few Chinese-made goods were available to take the place of enemy goods. China had so far been unable to provide productive employment for her starving unemployed. In the occupied areas they must become the slaves of Japan, or die. Farmers must sell their crops to the Japanese because few Chinese factories existed and these were unable to buy their cotton, silk and other raw products. Sixty million refugees swarmed into the interior, where they must eat, but where they could create nothing to take the place of what they consumed, unless they could be absorbed into new forms of production.

But there was another side to this dark picture. China had unlimited labour power, and unemployed trained factory workers; war refugees and wounded soldiers were available in hundreds of thousands to start new industry. China still had enough raw materials and natural resources in the unoccupied areas to build up new industries, even though rich areas were already in the hands of the enemy. But these resources could not be utilised because of lack of transport facilities to send them to the urban industries. The wartime blockade also created a favourable condition for the development of industry in the interior towns and villages. The longer China could hold out economically against Japan and provide for her own market, keeping out Japanese goods, the nearer Japan would approach her economic collapse. There were tens of thousands of patriotic students, teachers, engineers, trained factory managers and others standing idle, but anxious to get busy reconstructing the economic and cultural life of their nation. What was needed was work for them to do. The Government soon realised the necessity for building new industries in the interior and it urged industrialists to move westwards. But

Government energies were almost entirely absorbed by the preparation of plans for the rebuilding of key industries, and for the creation of a new industrial basis, emergency measures need to be adopted.

A small group of people met in Shanghai to devise ways and means of coping with the serious situation. After much discussion, they reached the conclusion that the only way to provide China's economic necessities within the shortest possible time would be by the organisation of innumerable small decentralised industrial co-operatives manufacturing a thousand and one articles formerly produced by China's lost industrial plant in the Lower Yangtze. A Planning Committee was then formed in April, 1938, to work out further details. The Committee was composed of a number of prominent people, among them the British and American Ambassadors and Mr. Hsu Hsien-lo, the well-known progressive banker, who was later killed by the Japanese when he was travelling in a plane from Hongkong to Chungking. The Committee met regularly every week and several weeks later a detailed plan emerged. It can be summarised as follows :—

1. To establish 30,000 industrial co-operatives throughout the interior in advance of Japanese penetration, to replace the productive power already immobilised by Japan in the occupied areas.
2. Big factories concentrated in the cities are necessary and vitally important as basic industries of war, while the cities can be held ; but none of them can be permanently secure because they are immobile, and because Japanese attack and occupation is directed at all cities and railways and at all industrial concentrations. Numerous small mobile industrial units, located in the hinterland towns and villages, can continue to function even *after* Japanese occupation of the communication centres, if built up in advance of enemy penetration, forming indispensable auxiliary lines of economic defence.
3. Industrial co-operatives can utilise *all* idle workers, and their productive power ; give thousands of refugees work to do, and give a meaning to their sacrifices. They can utilise all the raw materials and resources of the interior and mobilise all available unused Chinese capital, drawing from both the occupied areas and from free China.
4. Industrial co-operatives can supplement what remains of modern native Chinese industry and provide feeders for larger urban industries. They can fulfil in general a primary economic task in the rural community and in military resistance based on the rural masses, and a complementary task in the urban community and in military resistance based on the cities and modern communications system.
5. Scattered throughout the hinterland, industrial co-operatives can become the economic basis for prolonged resistance in every *hsien*, every town, every important village. They can alone maintain a market for China's farming population even if China's cities and railways are all lost.
6. Industrial co-operatives, as a partnership between the Government, the industrialists and the workers, can give a constructive meaning to the " scorched earth " policy. For instance, all movable machinery and means of production in areas threatened by invasion must be requisitioned by the Government in advance of Japanese penetration, and transported to the interior, to

be made the basis of co-operatives. Japan has broken up thousands of tons of Chinese machinery into scrap iron. The Government should not wait for this to happen in still unoccupied areas. If present owners refuse to move voluntarily, their machinery should be forcibly transferred and their workers offered co-operative employment in the interior.

7. Industrial co-operatives provide a new programme for patriots in China, taking them out of the slogan-shouting stage and putting them to work in actually organising a vast new economic army of resistance in the rear.

8. Industrial co-operatives are divided into three zones : (1) Largest units, utilising heavy machines, employing many workers, located in the west, south-west and north-west, performing primarily complementary functions in the Government's big industries programme ; (2) smaller units, located between the front and the rear, with medium-sized machine tools ; and (3) the smallest units, in the front line areas, using only light, portable tools and providing articles of immediate necessity to the military forces ; serving as centres of economic organisation and preventing areas adjacent to the Japanese garrison zones from becoming economically colonised by Japanese goods.

9. Industrial co-operatives can absorb large numbers of refugees and divert millions of dollars, now being spent to maintain refugee camps, to more useful purposes.

10. Industrial co-operatives, as a progressive economic and social movement, will attract interest and support from groups all over the world as a definite constructive result of the war in China. Their constructive meaning would open up the possibility of winning financial and technical aid and credits for needed machinery and raw materials, from China's friends abroad.

In order to realise the plan for industrial co-operatives in the shortest period of time, a Chinese Industrial Co-operative Association should be organised and be placed directly under the Executive Yuan of the Central Government. Its duty will be : —

1. To advise and organise industrial co-operatives ;
2. To register workers and to list remaining tools and machinery in the war, or enemy-controlled, areas ;
3. To assist in the removal of skilled workers and industrial equipment from the war zone or areas about to be taken over by the enemy ;
4. To obtain necessary funds for the promotion and execution of this co-operative plan ;
5. To train a sufficient number of field men necessary for organising the co-operatives ;
6. To supervise and co-ordinate the work for the purpose of securing better co-operation ;
7. To provide for planning, publicity, organisation and international support.

In order to promote the organisation of the Industrial Co-operatives, four Regional Headquarters should be established, situated as follows : Kian in

Kiangsi, Shaoyang in Hunan, Wanhsien in Szechuan, and Paochi, west of Sian, in Shensi. These headquarters are centres of groups of productive units situated in convenient villages in neighbouring areas, and from them workers go out to their work in the various technical sections. No special factory type buildings need be erected for them. They are not distinguishable from the air as anything more than the usual country dwellings.

Industrial co-operatives can produce nearly all manufactured goods depending mainly on what raw materials are available locally. They can be listed as follows :—

Textile : Cotton spinning, weaving, ginning ; silk reeling, weaving for hosiery and underwear ; tailoring garments and uniforms.

Food : Biscuits, vegetables and fruit canning ; condiments ; flour ; rice de-husking ; candy (sugar cane districts) ; tobacco.

Chemical : Matches, candles ; paper ; drugs, soap ; pottery ; glass ; vacuum flasks, electric bulbs ; dry cells, batteries, bakelite articles ; acid works, alcohol works ; medical supplies.

Metal Trades : Metal founding ; metal wares, hand torches, oil lamps, hand tools ; munition and small arms repairs ; household utensils, agricultural tools, bicycles, rickshaws, motor car and motor-cycle parts, repair shops.

Education : Printing, textbooks, maps ; stationery, pencils, pens.

Others : Furniture, bricks, tiles, straw plaiting ; leather for shoemaking, belting, military equipment ; rubber goods ; utilities, portable power plants, turbine power units.

In general they could be classified into three main divisions : (1) Articles primarily for civilian mass consumption ; (2) articles of semi-military use ; (3) articles exclusively for military use.

Standardisation both of plants and of material to be produced should be a general aim. It will make possible close co-ordination between industries and large-scale production.

Transport co-operatives should be organised on a wide scale. As all cars, trucks and railways, and most carts are being mobilised by the military, the co-operatives would have to create their own transport system. This could begin on a purely local scale : carters and muleteers being employed to carry raw materials from their nearest source, and transport manufactured goods to the nearest markets. Later on, when the movement develops, these transport systems might be linked up and form an important and even vital auxiliary line of communication between the front and rear, and even possibly between guerrilla-held areas behind the Japanese lines and the main bases of Chinese-ruled territory.

The organisation must produce sufficient publicity to enable workers to realise how important is their contribution. Workers—especially those in the Shanghai area—possess among their number men of considerable ability whose intelligent co-operation would be invaluable. If they see the project in the

right light and have confidence in it, they will establish themselves in the new organisation on their own initiative.

Slogans such as "A Workers' Two Year Plan to Support Resistance," "To Buy Chinese Goods, We Must Make Chinese Goods," "To Buy Japanese Goods Helps Japanese To Kill Us," "Produce For Victory," etc., would have a good influence among the civilian population. The idea of the necessity for production should be given the greatest emphasis. The triumphs of the plan should be given nation-wide and international publicity, so that workers feel the urge for continued efforts. It is especially vital to educate refugee and other poor labouring groups to think in terms of producers' co-operatives, for they have seldom had the opportunity to study methods to improve their ways of making a living.

It is important in the first stages to advertise the plan so as to get conscious industrial workers throughout the country thinking along these lines. But above all, every emphasis must be laid on production. The word itself should become an often-used motto.

Such was the plan in brief. It was presented to the National Government in Hankow. Both Madame Chiang Kai-shek and Madame H. H. Kung took a great interest in it and gave it their hearty support. It was approved by President Chiang Kai-shek and Dr. H. H. Kung, Chairman of the Executive Yuan. The Chinese Industrial Co-operative Association was then established on August 5th, 1938, in Hankow, with Dr. H. H. Kung as President, K. P. Liu, General Secretary, Rewi Alley, Technical Advisor, K. M. Lu, Chief Co-operative Organiser, and Frank Lem, Chief Engineer. The initial five million dollars asked for were granted to the Association to be used as loan capital for the co-operatives. The first task of the Association was to get work started and men were sent to establish the first headquarters, namely, those of the North-west, South-east and South-west. Work in the North-west was immediately started and made good progress. By the end of 1938, altogether 62 co-operatives were organised. The work of the other two regions started a few months later and made equally good progress. Work in the various regions was run more or less along the same lines and in the following pages will be described the growth of the co-operatives in the North-west and how they were actually engaged.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATIVES OF NORTH-WEST CHINA

(1) *Economic Importance of the North-west.*

The part of China which includes Chinghai, Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, Honan and Hupeh, is known to the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives as North-west China, while to others it is known as "Cradle of China". Ever since time began, dust and sand have blown into this area from the great deserts and piled up there. The earth in this region is known as loess. Many famous landmarks are to be found, such as Emperors' mausolea which were built in selected spots in the valleys, and moss-covered temples, places of monkish seclusion, whose foundations were carefully laid over mountain springs. In striking contrast are crumbling mud houses, caves and roads, which, if not impassable, are sunk so deep in the loess that even passing carts are invisible.

Here, in this region an ancient civilisation based its existence on a precarious annual crop, and the people, living on the land and ignorant of outside events, were burdened with intolerable hardships, but were too passive not to bow submissively as their forefathers had bowed for tens of centuries before them.

This was the North-west China of the past, almost isolated and inaccessible from the outside world except for mountain trails which lead into the few magnificent cities in the valleys. But in the last ten years North-west China has changed considerably. Along the mountain trails over the Tsing Ling range to Chungking and the South-east, a motor road was built ; the Lunghai Railway running west to Sian from the eastern seaport meets the road in the Wei River valley. Northwards, along the caravan routes through Kansu to Turkestan, the international highway was opened for thundering 10-wheeled Soviet trucks which brought in Russian trade. Southwards down the Han River valley, and branching from the many points along the Lunghai Railway, other new highways connected large and hitherto isolated areas of this forgotten land.

After the outbreak of the war in 1937, the North-west received tens of millions of refugees, youthful students and people who preferred bitter lives in a strange, harsh countryside to acquiescence in Japanese military rule. This region is so situated that it holds the crossroads of highways and airline stops. With its natural defensive boundaries within which a new China might be built it is a vitally strategic area, which must be defended at all costs from Japan's encirclement on the north and east. The North-west, therefore, was fittingly the first area to which pioneers of Chinese Industrial Co-operatives turned their attention.

(2) *How work was started.*

The writer arrived at Paochi, site of the Headquarters of the North-west Region, together with a young man, a former foreman of a Shanghai factory, on the 23rd of August, 1938. He had no idea as to what the industrial co-operatives were going to be like though he had had a few years of experience in the organisation of agricultural societies. He brought with him 300 dollars supposed to cover his travelling expenses from Hankow to Paochi and the living expenses of the first one or two months or so after his arrival. Time was not wasted and work was started the next day. With the assistance of several local volunteers, co-operatives one after another were organised. Forty thousand dollars were sent from General Headquarters as initial loan capital. With the rapid growth of the work, it was hardly possible to meet the increasing need. Another 50,000 dollars were secured on loan from two Government banks in the locality. Hankow fell to the enemy and connection with General Headquarters was cut off. There was no possibility of getting any funds, capital or otherwise. Yet work must go on. Refugees, workers and crippled soldiers came up to the C.I.C. office offering help. They wanted to join the army of production. They wanted to earn a living for themselves and they wanted to help their nation's cause of resisting the aggressor. Some of them didn't ask for any loan at all ; all they wanted was direction in organisation and technique. Others must be helped with a small loan for the provision of the necessary tools and machinery. Another loan of 200,000 dollars was obtained from a progressive commercial bank. This helped the work to be carried on without interruption until toward the end of the year when connection with General Headquarters was resumed. By December, 1938, 50 co-operatives

were established in Paochi and the work was gradually extended to neighbouring districts. Those were really trying and most adventurous days.

(3) *How the Industrial Co-operative is actually working.*

There are several different types of industrial co-operatives : --

(1) The factories under the distributive societies are sometimes regarded as industrial co-operatives. But they are not industrial co-operatives, just consumers' societies undertaking productive works.

(2) A Co-partnership is the type of co-operative in which the workers themselves own and manage the factories and themselves are members.

(3) The labour Co-operative usually has no workshop. It is formed by a group of labourers who jointly take contracts for specific work.

Most of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives so far organised belong to the second category, though others also exist.

Membership of an industrial co-operative, according to the provision of the Chinese Co-operative Law, should be at least seven ; but there is no upper limit. So the size of an industrial co-operative depends chiefly on the type of trade and the amount of business undertaken. The average membership of the Chinese Industrial Co-operative is about 15. There are a number of co-operatives with larger membership, say, between 50 and 150, but nine out of ten of them are small societies. Qualifications of membership are clearly stated in the constitution. Anyone who joins the co-operative as a full member must be 20 years of age or over ; junior members must be at least 18 years of age. Members must be honest with good character and free from bad habits. No one is eligible for membership if he is already a member of any other registered Industrial Co-operative. It is also provided in the constitution that any non-profit-seeking organisation within the area of operations which is a " legal person " and has common needs within the objects of the society is eligible for election.

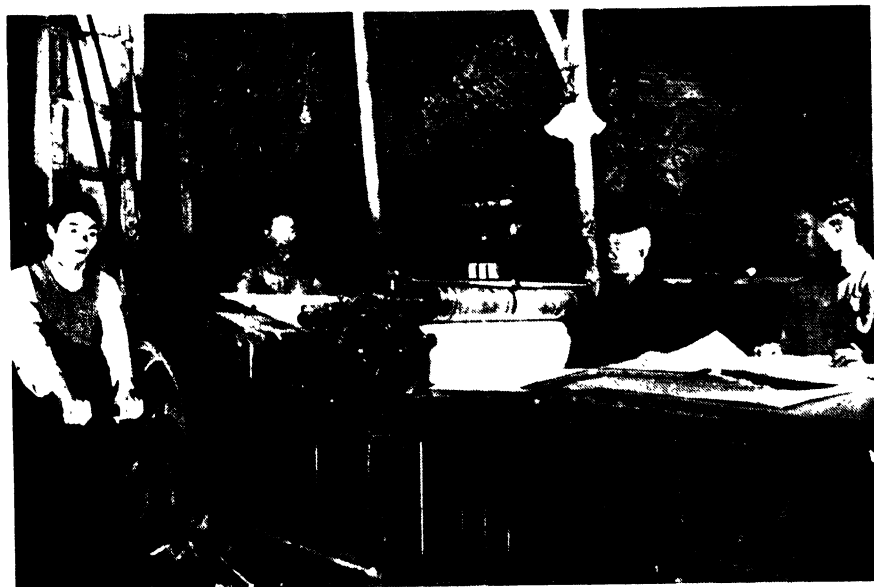
Every member, immediately after election, must subscribe at least one share and make the part payment prescribed by the law, the balance to be paid within one year. He is not entitled to vote or exercise any other privilege of membership until he has done so. Any member may subscribe for more shares from time to time, but the maximum share capital subscribed by one member shall not exceed 20 per cent. of the total subscribed share capital of the society.

General meetings of members are held quarterly and occasionally monthly. Over half the total membership shall constitute a quorum and a majority vote of the members present is necessary for all actions excepting for dismissal of officers, when a vote of half the members of the society is necessary. In cases of amendment of the constitution, dissolution, or amalgamation of the society with another society, a vote of three-fourths of the total members is required. Each member has one vote and only one vote, irrespective of the number of shares held by him, except for the casting vote of the Chairman. The General Meeting exercises supreme authority on behalf of the society.

The Board of Directors of an industrial co-operative consists of from three to seven members, according to the size of the society, elected by the Annual General Meeting. The Chairman and Secretary are elected from the Directors themselves. The Chairman is sometimes also manager of the society, but



CO-OPERATIVE WORKERS DYEING YARN.



A CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING PRESS.



CO-OPERATORS MAKING ELECTRIC BATTERIES.



CO-OPERATORS PACKING COTTON CLOTH.

usually the Chairman and Manager are two separate persons. The Chairman, Secretary and other officers of a co-operative all work as ordinary member-workers. There is no red tape or autocracy in the industrial co-operatives.

Surplus, if any, after all other obligations have been met, such as interest on loans, depreciation of the assets of the society, and so on, shall then be divided as follows :—

1. A sum decided by the General Meeting, in no case less than 20 per cent., goes to the General Reserve Fund.
2. At least 5 per cent. to a Common Good Fund.
3. Ten per cent. as wages to the Directors and staff at rates to be decided by the Annual General Meeting.
4. The balance shall be distributed among the members and non-member workers in proportion to the wages earned from the society during the year, subject to the following conditions :—

(a) A sum equal to 50 per cent. of all sums due to any member as bonus on wages shall be paid the member in cash. The other 50 per cent., instead of being paid to him directly, shall be credited by way of increase of his paid-up share capital in the society until the total paid-up share capital and reserves of the society shall form one half of the society's total capital. Any remaining balance of these sums shall be given him in cash.

(b) A bonus on wages on the same scale shall be paid to all non-member workers subject to the following conditions :—

(i) Any non-member worker under the age of 18 shall be paid his bonus in cash.

(ii) If within three months after the date of the Annual General Meeting any non-member worker of 18 years of age or over :—

(1) Applies for membership and is admitted, he shall draw his bonus on the same terms as any other member.

(2) Applies for membership and is refused admission, he shall draw his bonus in cash.

(3) Does not apply for membership, he shall forfeit his right to bonus, and the sum otherwise due to him shall be carried to the General Reserve Fund.

(iii) Any surplus indivisible in terms of the above provisions shall be applied in either one or a combination of the following ways :—

(1) The society shall place such surplus to a Special Joint Reserve Fund under the control of the Joint Committee of the local Union Federation, to be drawn upon at their discretion in such ways as will best strengthen the movement, either to meet special emergencies arising in any society in the locality through no fault of its own or to provide for sound development of industrial co-operatives.

(2) Where such a Committee does not exist, the society may divide it as follows :—

Any such surplus shall be applied in the following order : First, to the repayment of any outstanding loan and interest thereon ; secondly, to the General Reserve Fund until such fund is equal to the total paid-up share capital ; thirdly, to the improvement or expansion of the business of the society.

Thus the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives observe strictly the co-operative principles and non-member workers and apprentices are fairly treated, and the protection of their interests is fully considered.

Co-operatives usually work with very simple tools, but wherever and whenever new methods and machinery are obtainable, they are adopted. Conditions of work vary, some societies have to work in caves and temporary straw-mat sheds, but they are making rapid improvement. It is generally said in Paochi and other co-operative centres in the North-west that living conditions of the co-operative workers compare favourably even with those of the best-managed private factories. The following is a description of the life and growth of a canvas-making co-operative society in Paochi, which will suggest a general idea as to how an industrial co-operative is actually working :

In summer, 1938, a group of canvas-makers in Chengchow sent representatives to investigate possibilities of moving the factory to Sian. None could be found to back them, and the men were about to return home in despair when they saw one of the Indusco posters. C. E. Wu, chief Indusco engineer, arranged for a loan of \$200 out of his own pocket to bring the machines westwards, and promised support as soon as the factory should be ready to start work in Paochi.

By December, 1938, the eight members had brought half a dozen of their looms to Paochi, and set them up in a loess cave. They had furthermore subscribed shares and paid up to the extent of \$40. On this basis, C.I.C. loaned them a further \$2,500, and work began.

Thirteen months later, the co-operative had turned out 34,000 yards of heavy canvas, which found a ready sale, and was declaring a net profit of \$13,000. According to C.I.C. regulations, 50 per cent. of this was divided among the members, but the co-operative had its own way of deciding which member was to get how much. A special meeting was held for the purpose ; as each member's name was called out, he got up to leave the room, while the remaining number discussed his merits and defects, and voted on what percentage to give him.

In the following year (1940), 40,000 yards of canvas were produced, some of it fine quality. The co-operative had a marked effect on Paochi clothing styles, canvas pants, wind jackets and even canvas uniforms becoming all the rage, and spreading from Paochi to Sian and other cities. New houses were built and new members were added from last year's apprentices. During all this time the members and apprentices met for night classes regularly each evening, going through a good many books on co-operative and national subjects.

To-day, average monthly sales are worth over \$21,000 (production about 3,000 yards), and monthly profits for the first quarter of 1941 amounted to \$1,500. All sales are made through the Joint Supply and Marketing Department of the Federation, and all raw materials (except a small amount of native-spun cotton) are bought through the same department. Membership has reached sixteen, and sixteen new apprentices, due to become members themselves in seven months' time, have been taken on.

In 1940, net profits amounted to \$31,000. To fix members' dividends, a complicated chart has been kept through the whole year of the work units done by each man, and the dividend was fixed on this. Members engaged in management services got no more than the top weaver. Three prizes were awarded

for workmanship, practical Christianity and health. The 16 apprentices received 10 per cent. of the members' dividends, and a special prize for the most efficient.

About half the members' dividends have been drawn so far, the rest being saved in the co-operative. Highest dividend, \$1,295, was earned by one of the original co-operative members, a strong weaver, 22 years old, from the Shansi war area. Lowest dividend earned by a member was \$892; this member was ill and unable to work for nearly three months; during this time he was supported, and his doctor's fees paid by the co-operative.

I asked a group of these canvas co-operative members what the difference would have been in their present circumstances if they had succeeded in getting private support in Sian, instead of joining with Indusco.

"In the first place," answered one of them, "whoever it was that loaned us the money would have got 60 per cent. of the profits, the manager and the management getting the rest. The workers would still be wage-earners without security, and the apprentices would still be apprentices. As it is, Wang Feng-t'ai here has grown from an apprentice to director of the Committee, and at the end of last year he drew \$1,228.76 for himself. The co-operative Chairman himself, Chih Hing-t'ang, was also formerly an apprentice in Chengchow, though he was made a member at the time the co-operative was founded; he got \$1,295.20. Altogether, the people who would have been mere workers earning only their wages, earned last year a total of over \$11,000 on top of their wages.

"Then, as for security—look at the turnover in personnel that goes on among the workers in an ordinary factory. In our co-operative, not one member has left during the whole two and a-half years, and by the end of this year our number will have quadrupled. Members know that if they fall sick they will be looked after, if someone in their family dies they will get funeral expenses (\$50), if they decide to get married they will get a bonus of \$50 on their wedding day and another \$50 as each child is born."

(4) *Contribution to the war.*

The work of the industrial co-operatives in the North-west expanded very rapidly. Towards the end of the second year, in July, 1940, there were altogether 401 societies spread over the provinces of Shensi, Kansu, Shansi, Honan and Suiyuan. When, in 1940, the Chinese dollar still held its pre-war value, the average monthly production of the industrial co-operatives was worth \$4,199,842. Goods produced were cloth, carpets, coverlets, quilts, ready-to-wear clothes, hats, shoes, uniforms, caustic soda, ink, soap, candles, paste, sun helmets, paper, woollen sweaters, woollen yarn, carding machines, weighing machines, spinning machines, bags, buttons, suitcases, medicated cotton and gauze and so on. If you visit any of the 18 co-operative centres and look at the co-operative stores and their warehouses you will be greatly surprised that all this represents the growth of a movement unknown in 1938. Huge orders for army blankets, army cloth, uniforms, alcohol, stretcher canvas, ammunition, carriers and shoes were constantly forthcoming from Government and private sources. The industrial co-operatives of the North-west were specially proud of supplying the army with over one million bolts (1 bolt, 100 feet) of cloth for uniforms and two and a-half million wool blankets. The work has been greatly appreciated by army leaders.

THE CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATIONS

(1) *Importance of Integration and Co-ordination.*

Only by the integration of small and varied productive units into a single system can the benefits of decentralisation—democratic management, mobility, individual initiative—be combined with those of centralised planning and direction. The individual co-operative in the countryside may know little about public taste or about market conditions, but it can combine with other co-operatives to undertake experiments so as to keep their products up-to-date. The individual co-operative cannot afford to lay in big stocks of raw materials when prices are low, then draw on these stores as the need occurs. Nor can the individual co-operative turn out its products on a mass-production scale, but if it forms a union with other co-operatives in the same line, standardises its products, and sells jointly with them, it may gain the advantage of large-scale orders from army or government departments. The same thing applies to war and fire insurance, accounting and finance; centralisation produces results more efficiently and more cheaply than decentralisation.

Integration may be horizontal, as when co-operatives group together for buying, selling and joint services, or vertical, as when the coal-mining co-operative uses a transport co-operative to take its products to a machine shop, which uses the coal to cast machine parts for wool-opening co-operatives somewhere else, which, in turn, pass their products to wool-spinners scattered in small units over the countryside and then collect the spun yarn to deliver to the blanket-weaving co-operatives. This process occurs in a hundred different ways, from caustic soda to medicated cotton, from ink, paper and press to printed books and publicity, material from lumber to looms and factory buildings, from sheepskins to soldiers' jackets and blankets, tweed suits or fashionable gowns. In other words, co-operators create employment for co-operators. Such co-ordination is most important to the success of the industrial co-operative and calls for the organisation of strong federations.

(2) *Federations and their Functions.*

The federations of the industrial co-operatives are now organised on a district basis. Groups of co-operatives in each district elect their own representatives. The number of representatives individual co-operatives are entitled to nominate is proportional to their memberships. The Committee of Management is composed of from five to nine members, depending on the size and number of affiliated societies, who are chosen by and from among the representatives to administer the affairs of the federations. The Federation of Paochi was established in 1939. It is the earliest one. In 1944, out of the 18 co-operative centres, 12 federations were already in existence. The federations undertake various co-operative activities. They run schools, hospitals, hostels, stores, libraries, drama and sports clubs, and so on. There are also a number of so-called Trade Committees under the federations dealing with common problems of co-operatives of the same trade. At the moment, as far as business is concerned, the two most important aspects of the achievement of the federations are the Joint Marketing and Supply Stores and the Credit and Savings' Departments. Though both are offshoots of the federations, they have grown so large, particularly in the case of the Joint Marketing and Supply Stores, that the federation, in most cases, is dependent on the profits of these two departments for funds with which to carry on other work.

(3) *The Supply and Marketing Stores.*

The Industrial Co-operatives Supply and Marketing Stores are not consumers' co-operatives. Whereas consumers' co-operatives start by organising the public into a buying organisation and build up their own production system, the Stores begin with co-operative products, serving the interests of the co-operatives in dealing with the buyers.

The chief function of these Stores is to overcome as far as possible the industrial disadvantages of small-scale decentralised production. It has to do with the mass buying of raw materials which are afterwards sold to the co-operatives on a non-profit-making basis ; at the same time it provides a centralised market for co-operative products where (a) the goods can be attractively displayed regardless of the individual co-operative's own unattractiveness or inaccessibility, and (b) the goods can be stored and sold wholesale to army or Government buyers, who would otherwise be unwilling to deal with the individual small producer. In wartime a further function is entailed, that is, by taking the goods off their hands the Stores allow the co-operatives themselves to live in comparative safety in the country, while it shoulders the risks due to enemy bombing raids and bears the responsibility for safeguarding the goods.

The general practice in the North-west has been that the Department should take a 2.5 per cent. commission on sales of co-operative products and a 1.5 per cent. commission on sales to co-operatives of raw materials. For this privilege, the Department is under obligation to take in all co-operative goods, paying 60 per cent. on sight and the remaining 40 per cent., less commission, after sale. This relation, however, has variations. In Tienshui and Lanchow most co-operatives sell outright to the Department. In Shansi, the co-operatives are immediately allowed from 70-85 per cent. on their goods, owing to the ready sale and co-operatives' shortage of running capital. In Paochi, the 1.5 per cent. commission on sales of raw material to co-operatives is nominal only, since the Department makes a practice of selling at a price just below the ruling market price, regardless of the price it originally paid for the materials—co-operatives gain but a small advantage in price, but are ensured of regular supply and can buy retail at less than ruling wholesale rate, that is, for small quantities. In all districts a movement is at present afoot to persuade co-operatives to deal exclusively with the Supply and Marketing Department, and thus develop "Strength through Unity" to its fullest extent.

The Supply and Marketing Department is governed by a separate committee under the Federation. Usually, the chairman of the Board of the Federation is concurrently the chairman of the Committee.

The Supply and Marketing Department does not just supply raw materials to the co-operatives and sell for them their finished products, but also helps to co-ordinate and plan on the production side so as to weld the numerous co-operative units into one efficient system. Already a transport system, with trucks and mule-carts, has been established jointly by the Federation's Supply and Marketing Departments. It helps greatly in assuring the correct distribution of goods to points where they are in greatest demand. Trained buyers have also been engaged in the same way and sent out into all parts of the region for the purchase of raw materials in place of wasteful buying by individual co-operatives. Another line attempted by these departments has had much success, that of helping the standardisation of co-operative products. The

importance and advantages of standardisation are obvious, especially in the case of the small units of the industrial co-operatives. Variety and novelty of products are sometimes considered necessary to attract customers. But low price, good quality, and usefulness are still the reasons which make the sale.

(4) *The Credit and Savings Department.*

The first Federation's Credit and Savings Department, or the Co-operative Treasury, was inaugurated in November, 1940, in Paochi. Later, other districts followed and there are now four Co-operative Treasuries in existence in the North-west. The objects of the Treasury are as follows : To centralise all loans to the co-operatives, thus encouraging the outside investor by providing him with a central body through which to deal, providing guarantees where necessary and placing all loans on a uniform basis ; to provide capital to run the co-operatives by making them loans with their products as security, thus cutting down the number of wasteful stoppages and making for a steady flow of raw materials to the co-operatives ; to encourage thrift among co-operative members, thus increasing savings and adding stability to the movement ; to obtain a closer financial relation between the scattered individual co-operatives, and to provide, by means of a centralised accounting and auditing system, the means to an efficient and universal checking system ; to act as a collecting and remitting agent ; to act as an insurance agent.

The organisation of the Treasuries is very much the same as the Joint Supply and Marketing Department in so far as it is part of the work of the Federation. The supreme authority is vested in the representative meeting, which elects an Executive Committee of five to seven members. Shareholders of the Treasuries include industrial co-operatives, Supply and Marketing Departments and Co-operative Promoting Agencies such as the C.I.C. Association and the International Committee in aid of Chinese Industrial Co-operatives. There is a special Chinese law for the organisation of co-operative treasuries, which provides that membership of the Executive Committees is in proportion to the shares held. The object is to provide ways and means of making commercial and outside capital available to the co-operatives. As soon as the share capital of the individual co-operatives themselves is increased, so will their representation increase on the Committees and at the end, when all outside shares are displaced, the co-operative will take over complete control.

Another question regarding the organisation of the Co-operative Treasuries is that of the differences of opinion as to whether the Treasuries should be a national or, at least, a regional banking organism under the federation of all the co-operatives in the country or in the region, or to carry on as it is now as part of the work of a district federation working closely together with treasuries of other federations.

The Co-operative Treasuries, besides attending to various functions of their own, have also done valuable service in pooling resources for the general improvement of co-operative accounting. Under this plan, individual co-operatives are placed under a team of experienced accountants engaged by and answerable to the Treasury. For this service, fees are charged to the co-operatives in proportion to their business turnover. Several small co-operatives can be served by one accountant and, consequently, are required to pay only a few dollars monthly, whereas a big co-operative, needing the

full-time services of an accountant, has to pay his salary in full. This system has been very helpful as, in forming co-operatives of refugees and workers, it is often a problem to find a suitable accountant among themselves, while to place an accountant in the co-operative as an employee or a member is sometimes too expensive and causes problems due to incompatibility. It is also possible for credit-granting authorities to keep in close touch with the business conditions of each co-operative, as to the extent of production and its total cost and expenses and so on.

The Co-operative Treasury is still in its experimental stage in the North-west Region. There is only one Co-operative Treasury of industrial co-operatives which exists outside the North-west. It has made an encouraging start, but it still remains to be seen whether a really efficient monetary system can be built up, functioning democratically to protect and further the financial interest of the industrial co-operators.

EDUCATION, TRAINING AND SOCIAL AND WELFARE WORK

The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives have been criticised for giving undue emphasis to education and social aspects of the movement. But to the early C.I.C. pioneers and planners, education held the key to the success or failure of the industrial co-operative movement. Education of co-operative members and workers, education of staff and organisers, and education of the general public are most important, if the movement is to grow with the maximum of co-operation and support and with the minimum of obstacles. The same is true in regard to the improvement of the social well-being of co-operative workers. Co-operation, to the workers, should not just mean industries and businesses ; it ought to give a new life to them, with new meanings and conceptions. In the following pages a brief sketch is given of the various educational and social activities.

(1) Training of Staff Members, Organisers and Accountants.

When the co-operative work was first started, there were only a very small number of people on the staff of the Chinese Industrial Co-operative Association who had any knowledge and experience in co-operative practice. Training was undertaken in most cases by the Regional Headquarters of the Association, though more of this work has been done in the North-west than in any other region. The first two training classes were held in Paochi during 1939, and there 60 graduates were despatched for work over various places in the North-west before the third Organisers' Training Course opened in Swanshipu, a village town in the midst of mountains, free from the worries of air raids, late in the year. In the course of the first four years of work, up to 1942, altogether eight classes graduated with a total number of 369 students. Most of them were graduates from secondary schools and some had qualifications of two or three years' training in colleges and universities. They are now working after graduation as organisers of the Association, secretaries and accountants of the federations, and also quite a number of them, with special technique and training, join existing co-operatives as members.

(2) *Technical Training and Research.*

Many classes for training refugees, local women, and disabled men in textile works were run by the Industrial Co-operative Association during the early years. The classes lasted for two or three months and students in most cases learned spinning, weaving, tailoring, knitting and dyeing. In the North-west Region alone, nine classes, with 999 students, have been trained. They formed the bulk of the membership of the Women's and Crippled Soldiers' Co-operatives.

In addition to this short-course training of workers in various special techniques, there is also the training which juvenile workers or apprentices get during the performance of their duties in the individual co-operatives. Though in the C.I.C. Constitution special rules are provided for the protection of the interests of the juvenile workers, it has always been difficult completely to avoid co-operatives taking advantage of the old apprentice system as a source of profit. A great number of the apprentices in the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives are "warphans" and they receive a good training and are allowed ample opportunity to learn the trade and attend evening schools and, afterwards, to become members themselves. A still better environment is needed for these apprentices to get fuller training and education. In 1940, the first Technical Training School for apprentices came into operation. The name of the school was later changed to the Bailie Technical Training School, in memory of an American missionary, Rev. Joseph Bailie, for his years of admirable service in helping Chinese juvenile workers in the Shanghai factories towards higher training in engineering practice. The school was started in Paochi by teaching the boys to learn toy-making, weaving, sewing and machine work. In 1941, the school was moved to better premises in Swanshipu and students were divided into three sections, the textile section learning machine spinning, weaving and dyeing, the mechanical section learning machine practice, and the automobile section learning to drive and do running repairs. The aim of the school is not to produce high-class technicians, but to bridge over the gap between highly- and university-trained engineers and the ordinary workers in the co-operative factories. Moreover, the students must learn something of co-operative organisation. They are to be the backbone of the Industrial Co-operative Movement. The period of training lasts for two to three years, depending on the industry. There are now two Bailie Technical Training Schools in the North-west, one in Swanshipu, later removed again to Sondan, and the other in Lanchow, with a total of 150 boys. Both schools are under the direction of Rewi Alley and well equipped, thanks to the support of friends overseas. The difficulty is to get really capable teachers.

(3) *Women's Work.*

The Women's Work Department of the C.I.C. North-west Headquarters has been very active ever since the start of the Industrial Co-operative Movement. The Department was established in 1939 with a grant of \$20,000 from Madame Chiang Kai-shek. It has done important educational and social work, such as organising women's co-operatives, starting kindergartens and primary schools and running literary classes for co-operative children and members. Staff workers of this Department tramped the country roads just like men, scorning the idea that Chinese women were delicate and suited only for home life. They ran their schools and classes in temples and caves. They mobilised the hundreds and thousands of the womenfolk in the country to take part in

the national productive efforts and to help them to discover their social responsibility and co-operative potentiality. The Army blanket work—largest piece of production carried out by the North-west C.I.C. to date—would have been quite impossible without the women's work department helping to organise wool spinning among thousands of refugee and country women. During the four years' period up to 1944, nearly ten million pounds of woollen yarn were spun into army blankets.

Primary Schools.—When the C.I.C. first started work in the North-west there were not enough schools in the different localities and those that existed were of rather low standard. In order to meet the educational needs of children of the co-operators, primary schools were opened. There used to be five primary schools under the care of this Department, with over 800 boys and girls. Later, the work was transferred, either to local communities or to co-operative federations. Now, only one school is left, still carrying on in Paochi, with over 300 boys and girls. This school has now reached a high educational standard and has won a reputation in the local community for leadership along academic, social service and recreational lines. It has also served as a valuable means of contact with people outside the Movement and has created understanding, respect and support for the Movement. It has not only given the youth under its care a general education, but also a knowledge of co-operation. The student self-government is organised as a co-operative. This gives the students an opportunity to practise what they have learned.

The Girls' Technical School.—The ideal of this school is similar to that of the Bailie School, aiming to give the girls from the countryside some basic training in industry. China's women have been hard-working and indispensable producers all through the centuries. Given technical training and proper education, they would certainly make a strong potential force in social and economic life.

Women's Clubs.—Four women's clubs are now working in the North-west Region and more will soon open. These clubs are run for the benefit of women co-operative members and of the women domestic spinners. The chief functions are : Literary classes, letter writing, health service of introductions to C.I.C. clinics and hospitals, advice on family matters or child welfare, poor man's lawyer, an employment agency and social gatherings. One of the most important objects of these clubs is to protect the interest of the womenfolk. For instance, the first good service done by one of the clubs immediately after its organisation was to claim compensation for the death of one family's breadwinner in a bombing raid. Without the club's help, it is almost certain that the refugee woman concerned and her two little grandchildren would have gone hungry. Whenever and wherever possible, the women's clubs promote the organisation of women co-operatives. There are altogether nine of them in the North-west doing shoe-making, tailoring, knitting, making embroideries, and so on. There are also a number of co-operatives with both men and women members. The clubs have also organised the first consumers' co-operative among the C.I.C. staff and members.

Temporary Orphanage for Refugee Children.—In 1943, there was a famine in Honan as the result of floods of the Yellow River. Thousands of homeless refugees and children came westward along the Lunghai Railway and reached Paochi, Tienshui and many other cities in west Shensi. The Women's Work

Department was instructed by Madame Chiang's headquarters to start a temporary orphanage. Aid also came from various relief organisations. During the last two years, 2,618 children have been cared for by this department. The programme provided in this orphanage for these youngsters gives them half-days of study and half-days of productive work, doing spinning or other manual work in the gardens. Older children are introduced to work in co-operatives as apprentices.

(4) *Co-operative Hospitals and Clinics.*

Most important of all social and welfare work done by the C.I.C. has been the establishment of a number of co-operative hospitals and clinics. The first hospital was opened in Swanshipu in April, 1939. Other hospitals and clinics followed when a rapid expansion in the number of co-operatives had taken place in Paochi, Lanchow, Tienshui, and other co-operative centres, with the consequent demand on the part of these communal units for social services. The hospitals and clinics of the C.I.C. everywhere in the North-west have received great public acclamation for their work in coping with problems which arose when thousands of refugees, fleeing in advance of the Japanese drive in the East, poured in on Paochi and other centres in a condition calculated to be a serious menace to the public health. Working day and night, the doctors and nurses of the C.I.C. hospitals concentrated on preventive efforts, inoculation, vaccination and delousing.

There are altogether four C.I.C. hospitals, together with a number of clinics. Most of them are poorly equipped, only two hospitals have very simple laboratories, and one hospital possesses an X-ray apparatus. These hospitals are partly supported by relief organisations and federations, and partly self-supporting. They charge nothing. They are run on a co-operative health insurance scheme. A fixed sum per person in all the co-operative organisations is payable half-yearly for the support of these hospitals. It is hoped that soon these medical services will be completely self-supporting.

The industrial co-operatives have also undertaken various educational and social activities such as sports, singsong clubs, drama clubs, restaurants and hostels, and so on. One of the most significant achievements of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives, beyond their contribution to production, is this consciousness on the part of their members and workers of a social and community life. It is something new to the ordinary people of China, who seldom think beyond family boundaries. The following quotations from the co-operative weekly papers, will illustrate the co-operative achievement in social life :—

I. " PAOCHI, A CO-OPERATIVE CITY "

" I think that those of you who have visited Paochi in the past would hardly recognise it for the same city now, so swift and vigorous has been its transformation. Probably the ' 2nd Horse Road ', which used to be a rambling path among the refugee shacks, now approximates to the main street as you knew it, and the main street itself is, outside of Sian, much the biggest and gayest thing of its kind in the whole North-west.

" And in this general all-round development, Indusco has done much more than hold its own, so that the Kung Ho (' Work Together ') trade mark

is everywhere noticeable through the city. Beginning with the shoe co-ops., the stocking co-op. and the pen-brush co-op. in caves outside the east suburb, one soon comes to the Transport Department of the Federation (controls five motor trucks of its own and hundreds of mule carts), and, opposite this, on the corner of the Hanchung Road, at the terminal of the Chungking highway, is the third branch of the joint store, where co-op. goods from all over the North-west are sold. A little further west is the Indusco Restaurant and Hostel, famous for cleanliness and good pork chops. Opposite is another co-op. store, decorated to-day with glamorous silk stockings woven by Hankow refugees and selling for \$12 per pair. Behind the store is the Paochi branch of Bailie School, where over 40 boys are already at work in classroom and workshop, putting out several hundred dollars' worth of goods daily to help take them through school.

"The Bailie School has its own sales department, also on East Mainstreet, otherwise known as the 'Children's Paradise Toyshop'. Toys were invented and layout of the toyshop arranged by Indusco artist, Ch'en Tse-chung; after a recent toy exhibition in Sian and Paochi, thousands of dollars' worth of orders for toys have been placed from Kansu and Szechwan, as well as Shensi towns.

"Next to the toy shop is a new consumers' co-operative store, which enrolled 800 members in its first week, and hopes to do something about the drastic rise in living costs.

"Inside the city itself is the Paochi depot office, the hospital's out-patients' department, the canvas co-op., the carpenters' co-op., the H.Q. of North-west Supply and Marketing, the stationery department of the consumers' co-op., the Indusco Treasury, the Army Blanket Department, and, of course, the N.W.H.Q. itself, with school attached. The only trouble with all of these is that one never knows when they are going to have their front pulled down for street-widening. But that is the price of progress. Everybody, even including the first industrial (blacksmith) co-op. ever to be formed in China, has a new house to live in, and a smart exterior to live up to."

II. "INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE DAY CELEBRATION IN PAOCHI"

"Over one thousand industrial co-operative workers' delegates, together with students of co-operative primary and technical schools, attended the fourth International Co-operators' Day to be celebrated in Paochi since the first Chinese Industrial Co-operatives' unit was formed in August, 1938.

"Delegates marched to the meeting carrying banners with slogans:—

"'Fight Fascism through Co-operation!'

"'Join the Co-ops. if you don't want to be a New Order cow!'

"Mothers stumping in on small feet, their daughters striding out in dungarees and cloth shoes, were unofficial representatives of the many thousand refugees and native peasant women in North-west China who spin wool for the co-operatives' army blanket programme, while their husbands and sons fight at the front. New clothing styles—healthier, simpler, cheaper—were set by the members of textile co-operatives, who came dressed in shorts or dungarees of blue co-operative canvas or twill cloth, shirts made of co-operative towelling,

and various kinds of shoes made of local hemp. Hinterland industry, even in these most backward countries, is settling down into a period of standardisation and new styles have been made possible by new techniques and new and better workmanship.

" Linking their effort with the present world situation, Chinese Industrial Co-operatives' North-west Director, K. M. Lu, emphasised that ' The example of Germany and Italy, once countries where the co-operative movement showed promise and now has been destroyed, has shown us that such a movement can succeed only under a democratic form of government. Equally the fate of the occupied countries in Europe and Asia proved that neither co-operation nor even democracy itself can survive under Fascism. In China, which has been struggling against Fascist invasion since 1937, the argument goes further—the very survival of this democratic bulwark against Fascism in the East is inseparably linked with the development of its co-operative movement, the spearhead of economic and spiritual freedom. As one after another of our gateways to the outside world has been closed, China has been thrown more and more on her own resources. Where are these resources? Not, as with America and Britain, in huge machinery and highly organised cities, for 95 per cent. of China's modern industry was lost before the end of 1938, but in the manpower and natural resources of the countryside. Such resources cannot be developed, or, if they have been developed, cannot be managed efficiently on the old lines of industrial management. Being scattered, they cannot be managed from the top at all. China's industrial problem can only be met by a productive movement springing from the people and the workers, and managed by the people and workers themselves, and this truth is being steadily forced on us.' "

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

The war in China provided great scope for the development of the Industrial Co-operatives. Hundreds of thousands of skilled and unskilled workers migrated to the interior of China. Much of this vast store of idle labour was harnessed to the enormous untapped resources of the interior. By these means the C.I.C. helped to ameliorate the refugee problem, to supply the military and civilian market in China and to restore self-respect to her displaced citizens and wounded soldiers. The contribution of the C.I.C. to the war effort has many aspects, but one of the most important has been the foundation of rural industry. The establishment of the co-operatives in rural districts has meant that during the time of the year when farmers have little to do on the land, an industry is at hand which can provide simple manufactured goods for the village and country town. As well as providing the farmer with all the year round employment, it considerably augments his income and raises his standard of living. Small-scale industry, such as silk-weaving and peasant embroideries, were expensively carried on in Chinese villages before the mass-produced articles from the eastern coastal provinces flooded the market with cheap goods, thereby gradually squeezing out the more primitively made village manufactures. The C.I.C. has tried to re-establish these small industries in an effort, side by side with the improvement in agriculture, to rehabilitate the countryside.

The close of the war with Japan registers a crisis in the affairs of the C.I.C. In the first place, prices have fallen rapidly and the co-operatives are now

endeavouring to sell products, the raw materials of which were bought at greatly inflated prices. They are in debt to the banks and need help to straighten out their financial affairs. Secondly, many of their workers may wish to return to their homes in the east of China, thus disorganising temporarily many of the co-operatives.

As a result of this instability of the C.I.C. and the possibility of manufactured articles from the cities invading the countryside to the detriment of rural industry, the question has been asked whether this organisation, born out of the necessity of war, will be able to survive the cessation of hostilities and whether it will be able to occupy its rightful place in post-war reconstruction. To answer this question we have to look beyond the present situation and consider two factors : (1) the general trend of post-war economic development in China and Government policy towards the co-operatives, and (2) the ability of the C.I.C. quickly to make the necessary readjustments to meet the new situation.

Post-war Economic Reconstruction.

It seems to be very clear that in the post-war economic reconstruction China aims at the realisation of the Principle of Economic Democracy outlined by Dr. Sun Yat-sen with the main object of raising the standard of living of the people. The necessity of industrialisation is admitted everywhere, as without it the livelihood of the people cannot be improved. But how is China to carry out her scheme of industrialisation ?

It has already been stated by the Government that state ownership and private enterprise shall operate hand-in-hand in the process of the rehabilitation and industrialisation of China. There is a vast field awaiting private and co-operative enterprise. It is here that the C.I.C. has its unique contribution to make towards the development of political and economic democracy.

One of the evils of industrialisation, examples of which can be seen all over the world, has been the desertion by the people of the countryside in favour of the town. This has resulted in overcrowded cities, unemployment and insecurity. China is an agricultural country and 80 per cent. of her population live on the land. In carrying out her policy of industrialisation it would be fatal for China should she allow a mass migration from country to town. The war has taught China that without her immense agrarian population she would have been unable to withstand the Japanese. The solution for a balanced economy of China lies in decentralised industries organised on a co-operative basis and working side by side with agriculture. As has been said before, agriculture is not a full-time job in all parts of China. In the north farmers are without work to do for nearly half the year. The organisation of rural industry will bring prosperity to the countryside, which, in effect, means the greater part of China, and the repercussions abroad can well be imagined.

Co-operative industries offer greater security to the worker than any other form of industrial organisation. This has been demonstrated in the working of the industrial co-operatives since their inception in 1938. The co-operatives, mostly composed of refugee workers, have not only been able to provide a decent living for their members, but they have been able to provide from their surpluses money for education for children and adults, hospitals, clinics, and have contributed sums to welfare work among the soldiers. A member of the C.I.C. not only achieves work and good wages for himself, but secures, by his membership, treatment for himself and any member of his family at a co-operative

hospital or clinic. His children can enter co-operative primary schools and some may have a chance of entering the Bailie schools. His womenfolk can undertake work at home for the same co-operative and thus the interest of the whole family becomes very much involved in the success of the co-operative, which benefits accordingly. His feeling of security is well-founded, for he and his fellow-members elect from amongst themselves the officers of their co-operative. Further, the system provides a concrete and effective lesson in the practice of democracy.

The fact that the co-operatives have striven towards the removal of illiteracy by instituting classes to teach all the people to read and write has led many to regard the co-operatives as the best means for the spreading of the Mass Education Movement.

Internal Adjustments and Co-ordination of the C.I.C.

No matter how essential the work of the C.I.C. is to China's post-war development and no matter how closely it is in line with the existing policies of the Government, the success of the movement depends to a very large extent on the co-operators themselves, who are thus masters of their own destiny. They alone can ensure the efficiency and the continuance of their movement. Internal unification of working policies and co-ordination of the various co-operative organisations themselves are of primary importance.

Function of Promotional Agencies.

The one specific feature of the Chinese Co-operative Movement is the existence of Co-operative Promotional Agencies. The Co-operative Movement in other countries is a spontaneous growth, the result of co-operative, voluntary efforts of the people themselves. The movement in China is promoted and fostered from above by Government and other social and educational organisations, especially in its early stages. Indeed, in the case of the C.I.C., it is quite obvious that without the help of the Government and Promotional Organisations, it would not have been able to attain its present state of growth. Co-operation is, however, by nature a people's movement. The people must be left alone to run their businesses and manage their own affairs. Government and Promotional Organisations can continue to give to the co-operatives financial support and organisational and technical advice. But their help should be limited to support and advice only.

Immediate Policies.

The C.I.C. was a wartime growth. The needs of the situation led to very rapid expansion and the production of a great variety of necessary goods. The time has come for a review of the whole position. Co-operatives which used to produce coarse blankets and other goods for army supplies will have to turn over at once to the production of much finer quality articles for civilian needs. Small co-operative units undertaking similar manufactures have to work much closer together and work in smaller units if it is thought more economical. Standardisation of products is most essential, and new machinery, if obtainable, should be installed at the earliest opportunity. Industries with immediately available raw materials and a nearby ready market would be most likely to survive. Handicrafts such as the making of carpets and embroideries can still be preserved with possibly better marketing organisation and finances. These are just a few of the many problems which the co-operatives have to face.

Regional and National Federations.

The District and Regional Federations have been very successful during the war years and the strength of the movement is definitely the result of this close co-ordination between the individual co-operatives and their federations. More efforts are now needed to strengthen and consolidate the works of these federations. It has been suggested that a National Federation should be set up immediately to link up the work of the various regional federations. China is such a vast country and regional requirements are so varied. Such a National Federation, if organised prematurely, would serve no useful purpose. All efforts should be directed towards making the District and Regional Federations successful concerns. Co-operation must enforce the practice of democratic control and this can only be made possible when the day-to-day business proceedings can be closely watched and followed by the co-operators themselves. The organisation of a National Federation should be postponed until the Regional Federations are strong enough to appoint and control their representatives in a national organisation.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

The contribution made by the C.I.C. to China's war effort has attracted the attention of the outside world. The work of the C.I.C. in contributing towards the solving of the refugee problem and of the linking of idle workers to untapped resources during the most devastating war evoked almost international interest. Many promotional organisations in aid of the C.I.C. have been set up abroad. At the outset committees for the collection and allocation of money to the C.I.C. were established in Shanghai, Hongkong and Manila. Later, committees were also set up in New York and London. The International Committee, the headquarters linking these widespread national committees, was set up in Hongkong and Madame Sun Yat-sen gave it her active support. A great deal of training, educational and research work has been carried on and new co-operatives have been established with funds given by these promotional organisations abroad.

Now the war is over the C.I.C. must take its part in the business and cultural life of China and swiftly make ready to stand on its own feet. It no longer expects to receive the gifts which were so essential to its life during the war, but now looks for co-operation of a different kind from the outside world. The C.I.C. hopes that sister movements abroad, much stronger both in finance and organisation, will extend help in the form of credit, machinery and tools.

China's population numbers over 450,000,000. Her undeveloped resources are limitless. The co-operative enterprises of China have their place in China's reconstruction and industrialisation. Their hold on life, as I have said, is at the moment precarious, owing to conditions over which they have no control. At this vital stage in their development, if help can come from co-operative movements abroad, the C.I.C. would be assured of its place in China's economy and would play its part in accelerating the rise in the standard of living of China's people. The resulting bond between national co-operative movements would become part of the whole scheme of international co-operation without which the United Nations Organisation can never become a reality.

In conclusion, we may quote President Chiang Kai-shek, in his message to the C.I.C. on the occasion of its fifth anniversary :—

“ The Industrial Co-operatives are a new enterprise arising out of the war. Their contribution is not confined to providing employment. During the last six years the country has been facing serious economic difficulties. The C.I.C. has definitely made its contribution. In post-war economic reconstruction, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's principle of livelihood and plan for China's industrial reconstruction must be put into practice. We all know that 80 per cent. of the Chinese people live on agriculture, and they are working very hard with only a very small return for their labour, but the farmers are the real strength of the country and are the basis of Chinese economy. If their conditions of life are not improved, no progress can be made in China. The only way to improve their livelihood is to industrialise the countryside. This is a most important programme and the Government must do everything possible to make it a success. But China is a big country ; you cannot leave all this to the Government. The C.I.C. as a social organisation must do its part. The organisation of the C.I.C. is especially fitted to undertake the task of industrialising the rural areas, and the Government will do everything it possibly can to help. The Industrial Co-operative Movement, under the leadership of Dr. H. H. Kung, has won great admiration at home and abroad during the last few years. I want you to go on and work harder than ever and help build a firm foundation for the economic prosperity of China.”

Section VII

CLASSICS

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FOREWORD

In concluding this all too inadequate summary survey of Chinese Classics, the author may, perhaps, be permitted a personal note. He would once more express his undying gratitude to the shades of those writers whose work has brought into human life so much of happiness and beauty. He has, in company with warm-hearted and learned Chinese friends, been privileged, on the yellow soil of China, to bow before the ancestral tablets of some of these giants of the past. They have gone on before but they left us their message. *I lu p'ing an!*

No life has been poor that could compass within its span the reading even of the curtailed list of works given in this little book. When many hundreds are added and these are thrown into boid relief by a close reading of the classical bequest of Ancient Greece and Rome, one is brought to realize what a blissful thing life could and should be if men would but learn and practise humanity (*jen, humanitas*).

Let us not, in our pre-occupation with projected "brave new worlds" and "economic Utopias," forget the invariable lesson taught by the Classics, East or West, that the true good and happiness of the wise man comes from within himself and is little, if at all, dependent on his surroundings. Only such a one is a true citizen of the world for he can give and live work and be happy anywhere on this earth.

NEVILLE WHYMANT.

CHINESE M.O.I.,

LONDON, *March*, 1946.

Section VII

CLASSICS

INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS A CLASSIC? WHILE THERE MAY BE SAID TO BE IN THE WORLD A HANDFUL of "immutable classics," it is still true that each generation tends to choose its own, deposing in the process some elected by earlier authority. In any event he would be a bold man who would define a classic for all time. There are fashions in classics, though, perhaps, there should not be. From age to age it becomes popular to throw stones at established monuments—a process inelegantly if pungently described as "debunking." The lazy, who will not put forth the effort required to master the writings of antiquity, cut the Gordian knot by blandly declaring that this is a machine age and that writers who lived so long ago can have nothing to offer of interest or profit to the man of today. Especially profit, be it noted, for in the lifetime of many of us now living, Greek has been ousted from the list of necessary subjects in higher institutions, although Latin has been retained because a canine variety of that noble tongue is still useful to medical men and some scientists. A close acquaintance with the literature of Ancient Greece induces a broad humanitarianism into man's life, enables him "to see things whole," sharpens his sense of beauty and the fitness of things, but it does not add a copper to the till nor help him to gain a place in Debrett.

What, then, is a classic? Mr. T. S. Eliot gave a modern definition before the Virgil Society last year, but does his definition cover all the ground? Will it suffice for all literatures and all ages? A distinguished classical scholar, writing on Martial and the Epigram, (1) set out to define the product of Martial's pen before proceeding with the detailed examination of the poet's best efforts. After some forty pages of quotation of other definitions, illustrated by numerous examples, he decided that an epigram was an epigram and no better definition could be found. We feel tempted to follow this excellent example ourselves. We shall, however, use "classics" liberally rather than academically.

Had you asked an educated Chinese throughout the successive Imperial dynasties to tell you what constituted the Classics, he would have given you the unequivocal answer "the books of the Confucian Canon." He might have added a few others, which have had the character *ching* (one of whose meanings is "classic") accorded to them by an Emperor. But for an official Chinese of the Imperial past, the only real classics were the books of the Confucian Canon.

So far, all seems well. Happy the man who pushes his inquiries no farther. He can absorb the Confucian Canon and then, in the Chinese phrase, "sit with folded hands" and digest it in his complacency.

Should he, however, decide that he likes the sample he has tasted and resolve to go on with his researches he will assuredly come upon the phrase *Ju-tao-fu*. Learning that this is a "portmanteau" for the whole body of mystical and ethical teachings of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, he will soon discover that each of these other two has its own canon of classics, illustrated by armies of commentators and giving rise to numerous proverbial

(1) Paul Nixon in the series OUR DEBT TO GREECE AND ROME.

sayings in daily currency among the people. He will further find that whereas the *ching* of Confucianism have, throughout the ages, been "orthodox" classics, those of the other two divisions have been called "heterodox." The broad effect of this distinction was that knowledge of the orthodox classics helped a man to rise in the State service, while expertise in the heterodox books did not; in fact, if his love of the latter obtruded itself too obviously, it might wreck his official career altogether.

But although the various classics of *Ju-tao-fu* and their numerous *scholia* might reasonably last an industrious reader a lifetime, we are, in fact, but at the beginning of our *Odyssey*. J. W. Mackail once astounded some students who, with bitter toil had struggled through half a Ciceronian oration, by stating calmly in the course of a lecture that to become reasonably acquainted with the whole surviving corpus of classical literature was no great labour. No Chinese professor of his country's literature could, as honestly, say the same of what has become classical in the vast ocean of Chinese writing. There is far too much of it and it is spread over so much longer a period than are the writings of Greece and Rome. And outside the deeps of Chinese classics stretch wide, placid seas of ordinary writings, some of which in the minds of the people, especially since the founding of the Republic, have vied with the elect scripts of ancient authority for that *cachet*, "classic."

In all departments of literature, then, we find Chinese classics. The medical writings have their classical works as, in the West, the Hippocratic corpus and the writings of Celsus are the foundation classics. Agriculture has an imposing collection of classical texts including one called the "Plough Classic." Different divisions of science are represented, the military art (and science of war), music, painting, history, poetry and belles lettres; all have their classics, to whose authority appeal is made in any and every dispute. There is a "classic of mountains and seas"; the wholly delightful "Classic of Tea" and a library of gastronomical classics.

One departure from traditional procedure must here be specially noted. At no period in Chinese history, until now, have novels and plays ever attained even literary rank. There are, therefore, no classical novels. They were read (and, no doubt, enjoyed) by the literati, but they were not literature. They were merely the means of filling up an idle hour when more serious pursuits had been laid aside. While China has not adopted the current Western fashion of elevating the product of novelists to Olympian heights, she has changed the old view (which was ours too in Shakespeare's day) of regarding novelists and playwrights as little better than vagabonds.

So, in this brief review of the classics of China we shall include those novels and plays which, by their outstanding merit have held the admiration of generations of Chinese people.

Pride of place undoubtedly belongs to the Confucian Canon, and after reference to two preparatory primers leading up to that massive collection we shall begin with the Four Books and the Five Classics.

SAN TZU CHING AND CHIEN TZU WEN

Down the ages to the Sung Dynasty, Chinese students plunged into their studies with no preliminary stepping-stone. But in that dynasty a certain Wang Po-hou, who surely had felt the need himself, wrote a small primer in

verse which has, ever since, been the first book (alas, in far too many cases, the *only* book) put into the young student's hands.

This is the well-known *San Tzu Ching* or Three-Character Classic, so called because each line consists of three characters only. The whole makes a pleasant jingle easily remembered by the boy. He learns the whole poem off by heart (without stopping to learn its meaning) and when he can repeat it without error he is instructed, line by line, in the meaning.

The subject matter of the poem is varied. In its total of just over 1,000 Chinese characters it provides elementary instruction in ethics, scientific principles, arithmetic, geography, history, and so on. The first lines run :—

Jen Chih Ch'u
Hsing Pen Shan
Hsing Hsiang Chin
Hsi Hsiang Yuan
Kou Pu Chiao
Hsing Nai Chien
Chiao Chih Tao
Kuei I Chuan

and were thus metrically translated by the late Professor H. A. Giles :—

Men, one and all, in infancy are virtuous at heart ;
 Their moral tendencies the same, their practice wide apart.
 Without instruction's friendly aid our instincts grow less pure ;
 But application only can proficiency ensure.

What the author himself thought of the value of his little work is shewn in some of the concluding lines :—

Men's hearts rejoice to leave their children wealth and golden store ;
 I give my sons this little book and give them nothing more.

There is no doubting the universality of the work. We have even heard an illiterate sewing woman reciting it in the traditional sing-song manner. When we asked her what it was she told us, but she did not know the meaning of the words. Many an old-time foreigner began his studies of the Chinese language with the *San Tzu Ching*.

By the time the student has mastered this primer he knows some 500 different Chinese characters. He then tackles the second stepping-stone, a work which is unique in literature. It, too, is a poem, with four characters to each line and running, for the most part, in couplets. It consists of exactly 1,000 characters and the singularity of this composition is that no character is repeated. It is said that a scholar-statesman, imprisoned, was promised Imperial pardon if he could so arrange the cards bearing 1,000 different characters used in the teaching of the Imperial heir, so as to make continuous sense. He succeeded, but the effort, in a single night, turned his hair white. His work is CH'IENT TZU WEN, "Thousand Character Composition."

Two couplets may be quoted as samples of this work :—

" To virtuous rulers once 'twas given
 To see good omens sent by Heaven "

and

" In composition, terseness seek :
 With clearness ever strive to speak."

The Western reader who knows his classics will already have recognised in these quotations from elementary Chinese works parallels with well-remembered passages in his own classical reading. There are so many identities that we have thought it well to draw attention to some of them as we advance through the tomes of Chinese literature. The central theme of Confucian ethics—the essential goodness of human nature—which opens the *San Tzu Ching* recalls that half-line of Ovid “There is a god within us”^{*} and the lines of Boethius give an even closer parallel: “Nature has implanted in the mind of man a deep-seated desire for the good and the true, but, misled by different delusions they ever and anon reach the wrong goal”[†]. So far as the two quotations from the “Thousand Character Composition” are concerned, the classicist will recognise numerous parallels in Cicero (*De Divinatione*), Quintilian (*Inst. Orat* X), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Compositione Verborum*) and Longinus (Ἱερί Υψους) (*De Sublimitate*).

THE FOUR BOOKS (SSU SHU)

The groundwork of Confucian practice is set out in the Four Books. It should not be necessary at this date to state that Confucianism is not a religion in the Western sense of the word, but an ethical system combined with a political philosophy, so conceived as to produce the ideal type of man and the supremely good government. Confucius, like Plato, conceived the possibility of the ideal State where the ruler should be a philosopher or, failing that, a philosopher should be made ruler. Both were disappointed. Both died after strenuous, altruistic, productive lives in disillusion. But the works of both have exercised an inestimable influence on all succeeding generations and have stimulated some of the deepest thought and most brilliant writing in the world's literature.

The Four Books are (1) “The Great Learning” (Ta Hsüeh); (2) “The Doctrine of the Mean or Middle Way” (Chung Yung); (3) “The Analects or Sayings of Confucius” (Lun Yü); (4) “The Works of Mencius” (Mêng Tzû).

THE GREAT LEARNING (TA HSÜEH)

“The Great Learning,” now the first of the Four Books, was originally Section 39 of *Li Chi* (see Five Classics). It owes its present position, as the first work of the Confucian Canon to be studied by pupils, to the great Sung Dynasty commentator, Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130-1200). This great scholar rearranged the text as he found it so as to bring it into accord with what he imagined its original form to be.

Three principles are enunciated in this work: (1) to set forth illustrious virtue and its permeation of every living thing; (2) to renovate the people by showing forth the kinship of humankind and (3) to instruct the people that they may rest in the highest excellence, displaying this excellence in their demeanour and daily conduct. One of the most famous passages in Chinese

^{*}*Est deus in nobis . . . Ars Amat.* III 549.

[†]*Est enim mentibus hominum veri boni naturaliter inserta cupiditas; sed ad falsa devius error abducit.* (*de Consolatione Philosophiæ* III).

literature comes from this book. In the dignified phraseology of James Legge it appears as follows :—

“ The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the Kingdom first ordered well their own States. Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things (i.e., natural and human phenomena).”

Thus, says the commentator, does the spreading of illustrious virtue throughout the Empire descend, through States, clans, families and individuals, until the ultimate responsibility for a well-ordered, virtuous Empire rests upon the shoulders of the individual citizen. Indeed, as the sixth paragraph of the Great Learning says : “ From the Emperor down to the masses of the people, all must personally consider the cultivation of the person to be the root of all things.”

How wise to begin with the youngest scholar by impressing upon him his personal share in the gigantic responsibility of keeping his country straight ! Small wonder that the Great Learning is as regularly read under the Republic as it was under the Empire !

The great importance of the *Ta hsüeh* was recognised by the Sung philosophers and they, disagreeing with the Han interpretation, evolved a new one and so inaugurated the neo-Confucian School. Here is another parallel with the Western classical tradition in the development of the New Academy at Athens long after the death of Plato, founder of the original Academy.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN

This work, like the Great Learning, was originally a section of *Li Chi* (The Book of Rites, see Five Classics). It is attributed to Tzù Ssü, the grandson of Confucius. As in the case of *Ta hsüeh*, the first chapter is the basis of the work, the remaining chapters being elucidation or commentary.

A whole compendium of works has been written in an effort to extract the full meaning of the two characters forming the title. The substance of all that has been written may be found in a line from Plautus : “ In everything the mean is the best.”* Confucius himself said all that is necessary :—

“ I know how it is that the Way of the Mean is not walked in. The intelligent ones go beyond it and the stupid ones do not come up to it. There was the Emperor Shun who was indeed both great and wise. He took hold of the two extremes and determined the Mean, thereafter employing it in the government of his people.”

The Doctrine of the Mean is an exposition of the Natural Way. Man's duty is to discover this Way of Nature and walk therein. Thus will he avoid being swayed by doctrines and dogmas, creeds political and social, and by all manner of tempting appeals to the senses. He will stand aloof from them,

* *Modus omnibus in rebus, soror, optimum habitu est.* (Poenulus, I. ii. 28.)

examine them analytically, assess their value ; never will he allow them to tempt him from the direct natural path. By following this path man accords with the natural motion of the Universe and thus he is enabled to live in serenity. Any other path will lead him against the universal natural movement, and thus impede his steady progress towards completeness.

There are close parallels in *Chung Yung* and its commentators with the Stoic exponents of antiquity. The *tao* of *Chung Yung* is the *deus* of the Roman Stoics and the movement of this *tao* in our universe is that natural, universal way which man must follow in order to achieve his best possible and thus secure his own happiness (cf. Cicero, *De Finibus* and his original authorities Antiochus, Chrysippus and Diogenes of Babylon). Mankind must follow the natural order because he is of its very substance himself and any man-made variation of the natural rhythm must create discord. There is but one Truth, discovered or undiscovered, and in that Truth and our identity with it lies the ultimate good towards which mankind must forever strive.

As in the case of all canonical works *Chung Yung* has drawn the attention of the best minds of succeeding generations, first to extract the utmost of its meaning and second, to discover its manifold application in the affairs of men. In the sphere of morality its teaching is "equilibrium and harmony" : in ethics "loyalty and reciprocity" ; in sociology "benevolence and righteousness" ; in the political sphere "due accord to precedence, affection, respect, honour and encouragement." Long study of *Chung Yung* and its numerous commentaries is necessary before the reader can feel that he has grasped the essential teaching it holds. But the stoicism of generations of *literati* trained in its lessons speaks well for its enduring power.

THE ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS (LUN YÜ)

The Analects of Confucius are, in their present form, the records of Confucian precept and practice as set down by members of his school (his "disciples" in the works of James Legge). But the careful reader who is prepared to soak himself, Chinese fashion, in the Analects, can get in addition a fairly clear portrait of the Sage as he must have appeared to his closest associates.

This, however, is of no importance compared with the great influence wielded by Confucian thought for twenty-five centuries. Many have asked why, since that influence has been so great and so continuous since his death, it should not have taken hold during his lifetime and prevented his dying a bitterly disappointed man. As well ask the same question of fourth-century Athens with Plato dying in disillusionment. Both ancient Greece and ancient China were, in those days, rushing towards moral decay. The tide of materialism was high and would brook no cross-currents. Even a *practical* idealist like Confucius was unheard in the luxurious courts of the feudal princes.

There were also competing voices. Mo Tzū (see p. 207) with his panacea for mankind's troubles, his doctrine of "universal love," was, for a time, a serious rival to Confucius. In quick succession came other philosophers, among them the Legalists (the Chinese Nazis or Fascists), completely in tune with the aggressive materialism of the times. Rulers asked Confucius how they could "profit" their States, either by adding to their own power or by

extending their boundaries : they were not interested in Confucian plans for restoring a "Golden Age", whose rulers should transmit to posterity a glorious heritage of moral perfection similar to that displayed by Yao and Shun. These two rulers were almost as far removed from the day of Confucius as he is from ours, and their glory seemed somewhat dimmed in the eyes of the feudal princes of the late Chou period.

Confucius was a teacher of Court ceremonial and what may be called "the ethics of nobility." If he could teach those who would perform their duties under the prince they served, would it not be a shorter route to the execution of his duty to train the princes themselves? If his own State would have none of him, he would approach the rulers of other States, seeking to make them walk in the Way of the Former Kings. In all, Confucius and two or three trusted adherents wandered through five States seeking a prince amenable to reason. Often in danger and exposed to want, the wanderers eventually returned to their native State of Lu. Here, we are told, Confucius settled down to compile a record of his own State's affairs and, perhaps, to do something towards editing some of the works now comprised in the Canon bearing his name.

The outstanding characteristic of Confucius is his humility. He refers all Good (in the Platonic sense) to a remote past from which the present has been reached by a long and steady descent. He rebukes those who ascribe to him divine or semi-divine powers : he will not even admit that he is above or different from other men in however humble a walk of life. He loved learning, but did not consider himself learned. He esteemed above all things those moral principles which had built the Golden Age of his antiquity and from which man had so grievously departed. Character, moral purpose, moral courage, selflessness in service ; these were the ideals toward which mankind must be made to strive if the States were not to perish. The "superior man" must spread until there was no room anywhere for the "mean man" and his works.

All this is found in the *Analects* and, indeed, much more. A complete outline of the work would have to be a translation of it, for there is astonishingly little "padding." No scholar can ever have read more than a very small part of the innumerable and voluminous commentaries still extant on the Confucian Canon. Many old works on the subject have disappeared and are known to us now only by their titles. Much has been preserved only by the traditional method of study in China (learning by heart of the *actual text* of a canonical work). Yet the tradition is well established. As in the case of the works of Plato, the text of which has reached us in "so perfect a condition as to show it was reverently watched over from the first,"* so the text of the Confucian Canon has been preserved through all the numerous calamities and disasters which have robbed us entirely of many a treatise we now lack. Another parallel between these two great teachers may be found in the "fastidious reserve, the suppression of his own personality" which, eminently characteristic of Plato, is no less so of Confucius.

There are several terms which, in the *Analects* particularly, have a technical sense. These have been variously rendered at different times largely because translators have not projected themselves into the historical past in which the

*Davis and Vaughan. *The Republic of Plato*. Intro. p. 1.

words had vigorous life and personality. One such is the word JÊN, usually translated by Legge "benevolence," but having in Confucius' day the general meaning of "humanitarian," "kind," "gentle," (and their nouns). Later on it came to have the sense of that quality which educated men of noble minds show to humanity and in this field "benevolence" is not a bad rendering. E. R. Hughes† renders it "man-to-man-ness" (though not in connected translation, where he admits it would be rather clumsy). But, on the whole, the most appropriate rendering for this word in the Analects is "Good" in the absolute sense in which Plato used it, even "the Good." In his translation of the Analects, Arthur Waley consistently uses "Good" (with a capital initial), so as to mark "the mystical and transcendental implications" of the word.

Another term which has given translators much difficulty is *Chün-tzu*. This is a compound, whose basis is *chün*, a word which in early times meant a ruler, a feudal prince. By extension it came to be associated with the characteristics of a ruler, or, to be more precise, those qualities which the ideal ruler should show. *Chün-tzu* is, literally, "son of a ruler" and, by extension, a nobleman in word and deed ("handsome is as handsome does"). He was, literally and metaphorically, in the direct line of succession from those ancient Kings who were the Paragons of Confucian teaching.

Upon such a man devolved a heavy responsibility. He must be an invariable pattern, a model for the whole people to admire and to copy. By his translation "the superior man," Legge laid himself open to a charge of ambiguity, for in his time, no less than our own, there were "very superior persons" who were in no way worthy of emulation, as *Chün-tzu* was supposed to be. The nearest approach in English (if words had their full value) would be "gentleman," but the connotations of this word in modern colloquial have spoiled it for general use without re-definition. He is a gentleman who avoids extremes, he walks the Middle Way; he is at home in the *μῆδεν* *ägav* atmosphere of Ancient Greece and in the hurly-burly of life today. In all circumstances he preserves a quiet serenity born of the consciousness of his duty, his mission, his place in life and his moderation. Such consciousness, however, is not obtrusive. He himself is so restrained and quiet in his bearing that he is quietly part of the scheme of things. He meets and knows his own kind; only does he avoid allying himself with those on the extreme wings of his Middle Way.

Té is an absolute parallel with the Latin *virtus* in classical usage and does not connote "virtue" in our modern sense. It is the inherent spirit which informs something or somebody (as, in modern parlance, a scientist speaks of the "virtue of a substance"). In human beings it is almost "character" or "prestige" (in its best sense), in animals something akin to a form of instinct. Waley uses "moral force" and "character" in various contexts and it would be difficult to find a better rendering.

Shih, now mostly translated "scholar," originally meant a "knight" in the traditional military sense. He was entitled to be carried in a chariot as opposed to the foot soldier. He was a leader in the field as he later became in the halls of learning. He led the attack on the enemy in fight as he later led the charge against those who would not follow the teaching of Confucius. In

†*The Great Learning and the Mean in Action*. Intro.

the process of time the knight developed from the sword and lance warrior into the warrior of the writing-brush, and with the lowering in esteem of the warrior caste and the raising of the calling of the scholar the meaning of the term changed, but not its form.

These few points will explain why it is necessary for those who do not read Chinese to read more than one translation of an ancient Chinese work in order to get near the message of the original. Few English people can read Chaucer in the original form and those who read transcripts into modern English need copious commentaries to tell them the actual force, in Chaucer's time, of some familiar words. Even students of Shakespeare are astonished at the wide difference in the meaning of words shown between 16th century usage and that of today. Small wonder, then, that in the space of twenty-five centuries the meaning of some Chinese characters has changed very much.

Moreover, different periods have different standards of approach. Not content with the original text and its meaning at the time it was written, commentators in different ages have found a solution for inconsistency in a new interpretation of the received text. The first such interpretation of the Confucian text was that of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220) and although scholars worked ceaselessly on the text from then onward, it was not until the Sung Dynasty (A.D. 960 - 1278) that a completely new recension was made.

There were, according to tradition, three editions of the Confucian Analects : known as CH'I, KU WĒN and LU editions. These consisted of 22, 21 and 20 books respectively. The Han commentators worked on the LU edition and this was read to the exclusion of the others : it was perpetuated while the others were lost. Chinese critics are agreed that the chief burden of Lun Yü is the inculcation of moral principles and training in ethical conduct.

In regard to the family, morality is shown by HSIAO (usually rendered by "filial piety") : acting filially towards the spirits of the departed and to their present living descendants. A Chinese proverb sums up the matter thus :—"Seek a loyal statesman in the family which has a dutiful son."

So far as society at large is concerned SHU (reciprocity) is the rule. Here arises an interesting point which, at one time, stirred mightily the counsels of Christendom in China. Confucius enunciated the rule "What you would not wish others to do to you, do not to them." When a Western student remarked on this parallel with the "Golden Rule" of Christian teaching numerous missionaries hastened to point out that the Golden Rule was a positive, while the Confucian injunction was a negative merely. Apart from the fact that the genius of the Chinese language finds special emphasis in double-negative constructions, there were not wanting Chinese logicians who pointed out that a negative form is invariable ("always right") in logic, while a positive form may occasionally be wrong.

Tsêng Tzû, first disciple of Confucius, summarized his master's teaching in a memorable phrase : "The all-pervading thread is woven of loyalty and reciprocity and that is all."

In regard to the State, the Analects tell us that the important thing is to inform the people in LI (propriety) and TÊ (the essence of things) so that their conduct is right of itself (spontaneous correctness) and does not need to be made so by law and the imposition of penalties. For if people fear hard laws they will

try to avoid their consequences, but *not from a sense of shame*. This sense of shame, which would be enough to keep their actions right, is only obtained or strengthened by LI and TÊ. Confucius recalls the days when "things lost on the road were not picked up (by others)" and when a prison was nothing more than a chalked figure on the ground and yet the prisoner would not step outside it. LI and TÊ among the people will restore those days.

Whatever may be the views of today on the Golden Ages of the past there is admittedly much to be said for simpler statecraft where laws are few and readily understood, and the goodness of the State rests in the hands of the people steeped in loyalty and propriety. LI, said Confucius, is the common rule of the three Powers : Heaven, Earth and Man. With LI in Confucius' day, went YÜEH (Music) as an important part of statecraft and deportment. Alas ! The Classic of Music has been lost to us since the Third Century B.C.

The Analects go far in summarizing the teaching of the Confucian School. A reader will constantly be surprised at what is now called "the modern tone" of so ancient a work. For example, when asked what constituted government, Confucius replied "to populate the country, to enrich the people and educate them." Again, he said that sufficiency of food and military strength were of no avail failing the confidence of the people.

The Sage gives us his own biography in condensed form thus : "At fifteen my mind was set on learning. At thirty I stood firm. At forty I had no doubts. At fifty I knew the ordinances of nature. At sixty my ear was receptive to truth. At seventy I could follow what I would without deserting righteousness." When asked what he had considered his duty he said "to pursue learning without satiety and teaching without weariness." His great task in life he considered to be "to give rest to all who are old, to manifest sincerity towards friends and to treat the young with kindly tenderness."

In his preoccupation with the common but erroneous conception of Confucianism as a religion the Western reader will look for spiritual guidance in the Analects, but he will look in vain. None the less it is futile to deny a certain quality of spirituality to the teachings of Confucius. He himself, indeed, lost no occasion to deprecate discussion of spiritual problems. When asked by a follower how to serve the spirits of the departed he put aside the question with the rejoinder : "You are not yet able to serve man ; how, then, can you serve the spirits ?" When asked to discuss death, he retorted "While you do not know life, what advantage is there in discussing death ?"

But, here and there, are evidences that he himself had an awareness of a divinity. "He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray" ; "Wherein I have done wrong may Heaven reject me" are two outstanding examples of an appeal to a higher authority than earth can show. Yet all his teaching is stamped with that unfailing logic which is of this world, though not necessarily worldly. "They say" reported a disciple on one occasion, "that we should repay evil with good. What say you ?" "No !" replied Confucius. "In that case, with what would you repay good ? Rather, requite evil with justice and good with good."

Perhaps one of the factors aiding the establishment of Confucian teaching as the basis of State preferment in China was precisely this almost complete lack of other-worldliness, of an unattainable idealism which has characterised so many other systems (including some in China). The Chinese character is a

curious blend of the practical and the idealistic, but the practical is not merely first, it is the larger part. The Chinese is practical in everyday affairs and in the market-place; it is in the study that he puts off his practicality and becomes idealist. The great painters, the inspired poets, the great calligraphers—all lived on Olympus for the period needed to achieve their vision. In the world of affairs they were as other men are. This had to be so where a Senior Wrangler (Chuang Yüan) was also Prime Minister and a double-first taught the heirs to the Throne the essential principles of kingly behaviour. The lines we hum over to ourselves as inspired melodies from Heaven, left their brushes in moments of idle relaxation, often in spots far removed from the Court and Capital.

The style of the Analects is simpler than that of the other three books. No abstruse metaphysical arguments are here, no deep philosophising on Heaven and Earth, life and death. Plain, categorical statements, often in ordinary daily conversation among his associates, these are the reported utterances of Confucius, the *ipsissima verba* of the Teacher.

MĒNG TZU—THE WORKS OF MENCIOUS

Originally one of the vast body of collected works under the heading of Philosophy, the works of Mencius now form the last of the Four Books. The Han scholars recognized its value and elevated it from the body of Philosophy in general to that of Philosophy *par excellence*, i.e., the Confucian philosophy. Confucius is known as The Sage and Mencius is known to all sons of Han as The Second Sage.

Whereas the authorship of the three previously discussed works is "attributed" only, or is from age to age, disputed, it seems fairly clear that Mencius wrote or edited the seven books comprising his Works. It is the longest of the Four Books, being in compass about twice the length of the Analects.

Mencius, like Confucius, was born in the State of Lu (modern Shantung) and saw the light about one hundred years after his master. He was a student under the tutorship of a pupil of Tzū Ssū, grandson of Confucius. Early in his boyhood his father died and he was brought up by his mother, a sagacious woman who stands forever as the pattern of Chinese motherhood.

Mencius seized the principle of Confucian teaching and expounded it. He believed passionately in the essential goodness of human nature. This goodness is made up of four basic principles: benevolence, righteousness, propriety and knowledge. (Here again we find the Socratic principle that evil is the result of ignorance: he who *knows* must be *good*. The Stoics, too, laid it down that no man knowingly chooses evil.) Moreover these principles are within a man from his birth: all that happens to him, as he grows physically and develops mentally, should but bring them to full flower.

But, Mencius warns his readers, "You must seek them to find them; neglect them and they will disappear (lie dormant) forever." Once sought and discovered the principles must be practised and developed to the utmost.

In striking passages dealing with an argument on human nature between Mencius and another philosopher (Kao Tzu), Mencius argues that human nature's tendency to good is like that of water to flow downward. You may, by damming or striking, cause water to leap up, but this is done by interference

with its TE, its essence or innate nature. Mencius, in effect, discovered what many people who speak glibly of education do not yet know : that true education is a "bringing out" (e, out of; *duco*, I lead) of what is in man by nature, not a "putting-in" of something from outside. Many passages in the works of Mencius remind the Western classical scholar forcibly of the arguments of Socrates in the Platonic Dialogue *Meno*.

Two great *dicta* of Mencius must be mentioned in passing. He took up the Confucian maxim *chêng ming* (rectify your names, verify your references) and declared that he had attained to an understanding of the words of others, he grasped their underlying purport. He also claimed that he was able to nourish his "passion-nature." By long practice and devotion to a study of human nature and men's use of words, he could, he claimed, discover from what men said not only what they tried to convey, but also what they sought to hide. When words and feelings do not accord, the clue is visible.

The "passion-nature" discussion has involved many commentators in argument and distress. It is, according to Mencius, a power which exerts itself in man's mind. When it is concentrated it will cause change or movement in the will. When the will is exerted and concentrated it will cause change or movement in the passion-nature. None the less the will is chief and must be so. The passion-nature must interact with the will, but in case of "dispute" between them the will has the last word. This passion-nature is the product of an accumulation of righteous acts and only by a steady contentment, induced by a knowledge that one has striven to the utmost to achieve one's duty, can the passion-nature be cherished. The best illustrations of the workings of this nature are provided by two passages quoted by Mencius : —

"Mêng Shih-shê said : I look upon conquering and not conquering in the same way. How can I make sure of conquering ? Merely by showing myself superior to all forms of fear."

"Confucius said : If on self-examination I find I am not upright, shall I not be in fear, even of a single poor and weak person ? If I find that I am upright, I will advance against thousands and myriads of men."

Mencius was the apologist of hard work. He believed that every man had in him the makings of a sage, but "only he who exerts himself will become such a man as (the Emperor) Shun was." He taught no royal road to sagehood. Only by exerting his utmost efforts could man attain the full stature which was in him and alas ! too many were unable or unwilling to make the attempt.

It will now be seen how surely based is the claim that China has always been fundamentally democratic. "The people come first, the Ministers of State come next and the ruler comes last of all." The ruler, in fact, in Chinese eyes had from the beginning one sole duty, to pass on and interpret to men the will of Heaven. The Ministers supported the ruler, but they had also the duty of cherishing the people. The people were the real power and "without their confidence nothing could be achieved."

Mencius stands out clearly as a great figure. His portrait emerges from his writings and we see him as a stern, uncompromising teacher convinced of his mission and filled with a burning zeal to carry it out. One is irresistibly reminded as one turns the pages of his works of a judgment on Isocrates by

Professor Norlin. Make the changes indicated in the parentheses and the words stand as true for Mencius as the original passage for the great Greek orator-philosopher :—

“ . . . a single passion—worship of Hellenism (Confucianism) as a way of life, a saving religion of which he conceives Athens (Lu) to be the central shrine and himself a prophet commissioned by the gods (Heaven) to reconcile the quarrels of the Greeks (the Chinese States) and unite them in a crusade against the barbarian world.”*

In another sense also Mencius was like Isocrates, in the compelling quality of his style, “ making its appeal, not to the intellect alone, but to the senses and the imagination as well.” Countless generations of Chinese have been taught to cherish the works of Mencius, both for their content and for their literary form. Many competent critics consider that in Mencius the peak of Chou Dynasty literary style was reached. It is more difficult than that of the *Analects*, but it is admirably clear and readily remains in the memory when once the passage is mastered. But Mencius is nearer to Plato in style, for he lacks the ornateness of Isocrates, though the prose in all three cases comes very near to poetry at times.

Westerners have frequently marvelled at the Chinese attitude toward the Dragon Throne, and the comparative impunity with which a regicide may carry out his task. Mencius provides the answer :—

“ An Emperor who outrages (the public conception of) benevolence and righteousness is to be named robber or ruffian. He is then no longer an Emperor but a mere fellow and may be put to death.”

“ A ruler who shows a great fault and will not be well-advised should be dethroned.”

Mencius presents a complete politico-economic system for the ideal State. “ An intelligent ruler will first regulate the livelihood of the people. When this is done he may urge the people and they will, with ease, proceed towards the Good.” He advocated the public land system whereby the livelihood of the country would be assured and the State’s share (an exact tithe) would be invariable. In that event the people would know the full extent of their liability. Widows, widowers, orphans, the homeless and the infirm would be a charge on the State and not left to individual charities. He advocated a triple school system and all citizens were to undergo identical courses whatever their provenance, status or condition. There should be a science of human relationships and all men should partake of it.

Mencius was a passionate anti-militarist. Living in the Warring States Period which darkened the end of the Chou Dynasty, he saw the horrors of war on every hand and deplored the warlike spirit which “ led the land to devour human flesh.” An oft-quoted remark of his runs as follows :—

“ There has never yet been a good war : the best one can say is that here and there one might be considered not so bad as the rest. Those skilled in fighting should suffer the heaviest of punishments.”

So China envisaged War-Crime Trials twenty-four centuries ago!

*George Norlin. *Isocrates*. Loeb Classical Library. 1928

On matters beyond the teaching of this world's affairs Mencius says even less than did Confucius. Here and there, however, we get his views :—

" . . . Heaven does not speak . . . Knowing one's own heart (nature), one knows Heaven's will . . . Heaven sees through the eyes of the people and hears through the people's ears . . . When Heaven sends down calamities man may avoid them, but when man brings about his own misfortunes there is no escape ! "

The works of Mencius are a treasure of supreme value. In them we possess no small part of that many-sided Truth which has been the quest of man since he began to think. To read Mencius for the first time is an unforgettable experience—to hold him in one's memory is an eternal joy.

James Legge, Nestor of Anglo-Chinese scholarship, pays him a worthy tribute : " He lived to the age of eighty-four, dying in the year 289 B.C., the twenty-sixth year of the sovereign Nan, with whom terminated the long sovereignty of the Chou Dynasty. The first twenty-three years of his life thus synchronised with the last twenty-three of Plato's. Aristotle, Zeno, Epicurus, Demosthenes, and other great men of the West were also his contemporaries. When we place Mencius among them, he can look them in the face. He does not need to hide a diminished head."*

A final tribute may fitly come from one of Mencius's own countrymen. Ch'en Chih-chai, a noted scholar of the Sung Period (12th century) wrote :—

" Since the time when Han Wên-kung (Han Yü of the Tang Dynasty) delivered his eulogium which included the words ' Confucius handed on the scheme of doctrine to Mencius, with whose death the line of transmission was interrupted,' the scholars of the Empire have all associated Confucius and Mencius together. The books of Mencius are certainly superior to those of Hsün (Ch'ing or Hsün Tzû) and Yang (Chu) and others who have followed them. Their productions are not to be spoken of in the same day with his."

We will not, therefore, presume to discuss the works of Hsün Tzû and Yang Chu on the same day on which we have treated of Mencius. We will append to this section a small bibliographical discussion and then, with Han Wên-Kung, wash our hands in rose-water before taking up the Five Classics.

SOME EARLY TRANSLATIONS OF ONE OR MORE OF THE FOUR BOOKS

The Works of Confucius.—Containing the original text with a translation. Vol. I by J. Marshman. Serampore, 1809.

This volume contains only a small part of the Analects with the Chinese characters in large type, some notes and a running English translation.

The Four Books.—Translated into English by the Rev. David Collie of the London Missionary Society. Malacca, 1828.

L'invariable Milieu.—Ouvrage morale de Tseu-sse, en Chinois et en Mandchou, avec une version littérale Latine, une traduction Francoise, etc., etc. Par Abel-Remusat. Paris, 1817. A careful, valuable work, resolving some of the Chinese syntactical difficulties by the aid of the Manchu version.

**The Chinese Classics.* Chinese Text with English translation, Notes and Prolegomena. Vol. ii Cap. ii. 2. This tribute is all the more striking when it is remembered that Dr. Legge was in China on behalf of the London Missionary Society and that he sought in all his studies of Chinese thought to point out the immeasurable superiority of Christian teaching to all forms of pagan belief.



"CALLING THE ANCESTORS" AT A CONFUCIAN SHRINE

(Photo by Hedda Morrison.)

右通廣內	左達承明	既集墳典	亦聚羣英	杜橐鍾隸	漆書壁經	府羅將相	路俠槐卿	戶封八縣
右通廣內	左達承明	既集墳典	亦聚羣英	杜橐鍾隸	漆書壁經	府羅將相	路俠槐卿	戶封八縣
右通廣內	左達承明	既集墳典	亦聚羣英	杜橐鍾隸	漆書壁經	府羅將相	路俠槐卿	戶封八縣
右通廣內	左達承明	既集墳典	亦聚羣英	杜橐鍾隸	漆書壁經	府羅將相	路俠槐卿	戶封八縣
右通廣內	左達承明	既集墳典	亦聚羣英	杜橐鍾隸	漆書壁經	府羅將相	路俠槐卿	戶封八縣

PAGE SEVEN FROM SSÜ TI CH'EN TZÜ WÊN, OR THE "THOUSAND CHARACTER COMPOSITION IN FOUR STYLES OF SCRIPT." THIS IS OFTEN USED AS A COPYBOOK FOR THE STUDY OF PENMANSHIP.

Confucius Sinarum Philosophus—sive Scientia Sinensis Latine Exposita. Studio et opera Prosperi Intorcetta, Christiani Herdri Francisci Rougemont, Philippi Couplet, Patrum Societatis Jesu. Jussu Ludovici Magni. Parisiis, 1837.

Le Ta Hio—ou La Grande Etude ; Traduit en Francois avec une version Latine, etc., par G. Pauthier, Paris, 1837.

Meng Tseu vel Mencium, inter Sinenses Philosophus, Ingenio, Doctrina, Nominisque Claritate, Confucio Proximum, Edidit, Latina Interpretatione ad interpretationem Tartaricam utramque recensita, instruxit et perpetuo commentario et Sinicis deprompto, illustravit Stanislaus Julien. Paris, 1824-1829.

A scarce but valuable work, marked by profound insight and sympathy and showing how deeply the author had studied his original.

MODERN TRANSLATIONS

Legge, James. *The Chinese Classics*. Chinese Text with English Translation, Notes, Prolegomena and Indices. 8 Volumes Royal 8vo. 1861-1865 of which Volumes 1 and 2 contain the Four Books.

Volume 1. Confucian Analects. The Great Learning. The Doctrine of the Mean.

Volume 2. The Works of Mencius.

This stupendous work has formed the basis of the Westerner's knowledge of the Chinese Classics for three generations. The notes are exhaustive and mostly extremely valuable to the student. The prolegomena are essays of importance in which wide Chinese reading is digested for the benefit of the general reader and the student. Legge has adopted the Chu Hsi recension and interpretation, and his translation is a fairly close approximation to the Sung understanding of the Confucian Canon. It is, for the modern reader's taste, somewhat too ponderous in tone, but for many passages it is still the most dignified and trustworthy presentation of the ideas of the original. Legge's translation is included among modern Translations because of the wide difference between it and its predecessors and for its continuing usefulness.

Les Quatre Livres.—Chinese Text in Chinese and Roman characters and a translation into French and Latin, by S. Couvreur, 1910.

This is a careful work and the Latin translation is particularly valuable to students as it follows the Chinese syntax closely. In some difficult passages part of the Chinese commentary is given in elucidation.

Ta Hio.—The Great Learning. Chinese Text with Japanese and English translation by J. Hoffman n.d.

Ta Hsüeh.—The method of Higher Education, translated into English by Ku Hung-Ming. Shanghai, 1915.

Chung Yung.—The Universal Order or Conduct of Life, (translated by Ku Hung-Ming). Shanghai, 1906.

Chung Yung, or The Centre, the Common, translated by L. A. Lyall and King Chien-Kun, 1927.

Zur Textkritik des Chung Yung, by E. Erkes. Berlin, 1917. Valuable for textual criticism and dating of the work.

Lun Yü; The Analects—Chinese Text with English Translation, full commentary and introduction. By W. E. Soothill, 1910.

This work did not receive the attention it deserved. A long introduction discusses the historical background of the Analects, the vexed matter of Confucian "Disciples," geographical questions and matters of interpretation which lay outside Legge's chosen *corpus* of Confucian commentary. The translation alone was printed in *The World's Classics*, Oxford University Press and is still available, although the original work has become scarce.

Lun Yü; Gespräche.—Translated with introduction and notes from the Chinese into German by Richard Wilhelm.

This is a valuable work and should be read with Legge and Soothill. Wilhelm holds to the Han and pre-Sung interpretation and, in this respect, is akin to Arthur Waley, v. infra.

Mong Dsi; Werke.—Translated into German by Richard Wilhelm.

This also cannot be neglected by the serious student. There are helpful notes and an assessment of Mencius's Philosophy and an account of his life. Jena, 1916.

The Analects of Confucius.—Translated and annotated by Arthur Waley. London, 1938.

This is a provocative and valuable guide to the student of the Analects. A long introduction prepares the reader for wide differences in rendering of familiar passages. Detailed examination of technical uses of certain terms precedes a general discussion of the written tradition and ritual. Appendix I deals with the old and new interpretations of the Analects, and a second appendix discusses biographical dates. The student will find much interest and help in the textual notes.

This translation is indispensable to the non-Chinese reader, especially if he has been brought up on Legge's version. Mr. Waley has made full use of the modern critical apparatus of Chinese scholarship. The student is given abundant help by footnotes (which the general reader may disregard) and by the above-mentioned textual (and additional) notes.

The Sayings of Confucius.—A new translation of the greater part of the Confucian Analects with introduction and notes by Lionel Giles. London, John Murray (Wisdom of the East Series), 1907.

In this portable work the sayings are grouped under headings such as: Individual Virtue; Confucius' Estimate of Others; On Himself; Miscellaneous Sayings; Personalalia; Sayings of the Disciples, etc. Very useful for comparative study and for the general reader.

THE FIVE CLASSICS (*WU CHING*)

I. THE BOOK OF CHANGES (*I Ching*)

The Book of Changes heads the Five Classics. It is traditionally stated that it was compiled by Confucius, though this has been disputed. Certainly Confucius himself stated he had given much study to the book, and if he had

more years he would devote them to intensive research to discover its full meaning. Ten "Wings" or commentaries on the work pass, to this day, under the name of Confucius.

This work is generally regarded as the most ancient of all Chinese works and many and various theories have been put forward to explain its purpose. It is difficult to understand and this had led some Western scholars* to speculate on a possible foreign origin. It has even been suspected of being something akin to a Cuneiform-Chinese Dictionary.

So far as the traditional Chinese view is concerned, *I Ching* is the book of the four sages : (1) the Emperor Fu Hsi made the sixty-four diagrams which form the basis of the book ; (2) King Wên of the Chou Dynasty wrote the explanatory phrases under each diagram ; (3) Duke Chou, youngest son of King Wên, supplied the definitions under the component strokes of the diagrams ; and (4) Confucius added the commentaries ("Wings"), explaining the general meaning of the whole work and the significance of special subdivisions.

The general view, nowadays, (discounting the modern theory which would tie up the work with the tides of the Yangtse Delta) is that *I Ching* is a book of divination and folk-lore sayings. It bears all the marks of a cosmogonical discussion, appealing to natural conditions, weather, seasons, animals, insects and their behaviour ; from which circumstances the wisdom or folly of pursuing certain undertakings is deduced. The work certainly needs long and concentrated study, and more than one commentary is needed in order that the reader may understand some of the sections. To read all the various existing commentaries and speculative works on *I Ching* and its meaning would take more than a lifetime, yet the more important ones can be compassed in the course of a few years. Foreign works (with the exception of a paper contributed by Arthur Waley to the Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm†, which is very suggestive) have not contributed anything material to the clarification of the book and its purpose.

The diagrams are built up from two primaries, one, a straight, continuous, horizontal line, thus —, representing Heaven, male, positive, etc. : and a broken horizontal line, thus, — —, representing Earth, female, negative, etc. Neither is complete in itself, nor can either stand alone. In combination they produce all things and the union of the primary elements is the representation of Primal Unity in the duality of the two universal principles which everywhere unite to produce the manifold existences of Nature. Fu Hsi is credited with the invention of the primary Eight Diagrams (beginning with ≡≡≡ and ≡ ≡ and going on to possible permutations and combinations of continuous and broken lines). Then the combination of different triplets into figures of six lines makes up the total of 64 diagrams which are treated in the sixty-four chapters of *I Ching*.

Since the work has been represented as a manual of profound philosophy, of cosmology, of sociology, of political theory, it is, perhaps, rather a shock to realise that, in accordance with its origin in remote antiquity, it is simply a collection of "wise saws" based on a primitive nature philosophy. Read

*de Lacouperie. *The Oldest Book of the Chinese, the Y-King*. 1892. (This is marked Vol. 1. History and Method, but no further volumes appeared.)

†Bulletin No. 5. Stockholm, 1934.

in this light it has many a parallel with similar "country men's sayings" to be found in the remains of *de re rustica* of Cato and Varro.

Briefly stated, the work (which is not an harmonious whole in the sense of later books) begins with the statement of *T'ai Chi*, the primordial Unity, the Great Origin, before which was nothing, and from which descended the dual principle of Male and Female. These two produced the Four Designs and these, in their turn, gave rise to the Eight Diagrams. These eight multiplied by themselves (using all possible combinations) produced the 64 figures (each of six lines) which head the several chapters of the book. Through a mathematically correct range of Major and Minor Positives and Negatives, the reader eventually sees the circle complete in all possible variations of combinations of Heaven and Earth, positive and negative, now the one force predominating, now the other, while all the time complete balance of the various parts is maintained. It is the part of the commentary to set forth the power of the components in the combination under review.

The eight primary diagrams have the following names and meanings :—

- | | |
|------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Ch'ien</i> | Father, Heaven, strong. |
| 2. <i>K'un</i> | Mother, Earth, weak. |
| 3. <i>Chên</i> | Elder son, thunder, to move. |
| 4. <i>Sun</i> | Elder daughter, wind, to distribute. |
| 5. <i>K'an</i> | Middle son, water, dark. |
| 6. <i>Li</i> | Middle daughter, fire, bright. |
| 7. <i>Kün</i> | Youngest son, mountain, stand still. |
| 8. <i>Tui</i> | Youngest daughter, valley, to collect. |

Thus are represented four differing natures and four varied actions. They are complementary to one another.

If these eight postulates, with the line-by-line development of hidden meanings, have their own commentaries developing a complicated system of meanings and interpretations, it can readily be understood that the comprehension of the complete work is no easy task !

If the Book of Changes is the most difficult of the Five Classics it is also, mercifully, the shortest.

II. THE BOOK OF HISTORY (*Shu Ching*)

Second place in the Five Classics is given to a work which has much exercised Chinese and foreign scholars for many centuries. How much of this compilation is to be regarded as genuinely of the Chou period, and how much is a restitution ("forgery," "reconstruction," "transcript from memory," according to one's sympathies) is a problem which has given rise to many pronouncements and partisan arguments. The vicissitudes suffered by early writings in the great Burning of the Books, on the order of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in the third century B.C., have been exaggerated in some quarters and under-estimated in others. In addition it must be remembered that books were, in those early days, written on strips of bamboo fastened together by leathern thongs and that, in the course of time, single "pages" were lost or displaced, and this caused a variant text to appear in some districts. The confusion was largely cleared up by Liu Hsiang and his distinguished son, Liu Hsin, in the Han dynasty. But these efforts, particularly those of Liu Hsin, have been

grievously misunderstood ; Liu Hsin has even been pilloried as " forger " of many of the works he recovered !

Tradition has it that *Shu Ching* originally consisted of 100 books. At present we have but fifty-eight of these, although, in addition, we have the titles and forewords of twenty others. The remainder is irrevocably lost (unless, indeed, the soil of China should someday yield up a treasure comparable with the Oxyrhynchus discovery in Egypt half a century ago).

Out of several editions known to the Han bibliographers two survived, one known as the Old text (*Ku wên*) and the other the Later text (*Chin wên*). The former was allegedly recovered from a hollow wall in the old residence of Confucius, and the latter was repeated from memory by one Fu Shêng, a native of Shantung. But there were many differences. Not only was the old text script the ancient writing which was now difficult for most people to read, but the actual order and wording of the texts were different. In course of time the old text was once again lost and the new text came more and more to be accepted as the veritable original.

The earliest name for this classic is *Shang Shu*, usually rendered "ancient writings," although a fairer description would be "Collection of Ancient Historical Documents." Documents many of the chapters are, both in form and content. The ancient commentary on the *Shang Shu* states that there were 3,240 official historical documents in the keeping of the Imperial Chou Historians. It is said that Confucius read over all these documents, made a careful selection and assembled one hundred as the text of *Shang Shu*, writing, himself, a preface to each document.

Whatever the truth of the authenticity of the work as we have it, there is no denying its deep interest and great value. There are two *tien* (constitutions) couched in the most dignified form of Chinese literary style. These two *tien* concern themselves with the governments of Yao and Shun, the ideal rulers of antiquity. Then there are three *mu* (counsels) of statesmen serving under Emperor Shun. There is an example of *hsiin* (instruction) given to an Emperor by his wise Minister ; *kao* (command or strong commendation), advice to or edict of an Emperor ; *shih* (oath taken before a military ceremony). and *ming* or order addressed to a newly appointed feudal lord or high officer of State.

The whole work had as its object the keeping before the people the force of early and noble example in ideal government. A secondary object was the provision of models of composition in a form hallowed by the uses of antiquity.

It is easy to assume that Confucius, in thus appealing to the pattern of earlier ages, was simply doing what mankind has ever done--refer from a troubled, unworthy present to a Golden Age in the distant past, an age, however, which was not really so fine as it appeared through the gilded mists of time. But there is evidence to show that, in China, those earlier rulers were ideal monarchs who did care for the happiness of their people, rather than for their own indulgence. Chinese historical records have been remarkably frank both on the sins and the virtues of the numerous rulers and teachers. In any event there is no doubting the sincerity of Confucius and Mencius when they passionately insist that only the emulation of the sages of old will save mankind from the myriad horrors which have assailed nations without such precedents to help them.

It appears from the text of *Shu Ching* that no rigid form of government procedure is postulated. Both form and system of government must be flexible and subject to change if succeeding ages are to get the best out of the principles laid down by the Divine Rulers. But the *spirit* of government, once established, should not change. It is the spirit of the ancients which should inform the later rulers, not necessarily their edicts and pronouncements. The phrase used in the Classic of History is *hsin fa* (mental method or spirit). This is reminiscent, again, of the political works of Ancient Greece, which recognized a philosopher king as the only appropriate ruler. Viewed in this light, *Shu Ching* is more a compendium of philosophic morality than a history in any Western sense of the term. Thus Confucius considered it a task of high importance to transmit to posterity two closely knit treasures—philosophic teaching in superb literary form. Models for government and models for literary composition in one volume—surely not a poor bequest to posterity!

III. BOOK OF POETRY (*Shih Ching*)

The third of the Five Classics is, perhaps, the one most attractive to the general reader of the West, for he can disregard much of the argument of Chinese and foreign commentators as to whether the odes are just songs or whether, in fact, they are political satires and lampoons with hidden meanings. The compilation of our present collection of 311 poems is attributed to Confucius, who is said to have passed under review over 3,000 poems extant in his day, removing those which were licentious or otherwise undesirable.

The collection falls into three main divisions: (1) the so-called *Fêng* or Folk Songs of the various States prior to the unification of China; (2) *Ya* or Musical Songs, divided into *Hsiao Ya* (the smaller *Ya*) and *Ta Ya* (the greater *Ya*); and (3) *Sung* or Panegyrics.

Many of the songs are obvious folk-songs of popular origin, sung by the people at their work or on festival and other ceremonial occasions. Those known as *Ya* are more sophisticated and were obviously written by scholars for performance, with music, on official occasions. The *Sung* were special pieces composed in connection with official observances of sacrifices to Heaven and Earth.

The poems are rhymed and they follow a definite metrical pattern. The Book of Poetry (called by Arthur Waley in his translation "The Book of Songs") is most valuable as an indication of the early condition and development of the poetic art in China. It is also a record of the feelings and reactions of the common people to the circumstances under which they lived and laboured. Some commentators have discovered a moral purpose hidden in some of the poems, but whether this be true or not, the whole collection gives a clear picture of times which were ancient when Confucius was alive.

IV. BOOK OF RITES. (*Li Chi*)

The fourth of the five Classics is but one of the four works on the subject of Rites and Ceremonial. These four are:—

- (1) *Chou Kuan* (or *Chou Li*), the Rites of Chou.
- (2) *I Li*, the social ceremonial Rites of Chou.

(3) *Ta Tai Li Chi*, the Rites of Tai Shêng of Han.

(4) *Hsiao Tai Li Chi*, the Rites of the Younger Tai (nephew of Tai Shêng).

Chou Li and *I Li* are attributed to the Duke of Chou and they form a comprehensive record of laws, regulations, and customs in formal ceremonial. Confucius placed the greatest emphasis on the need for ceremonial as a means of discipline and a mental and spiritual preparation for the practice of music, literature and the arts generally. The choice of number four in the above list as the authentic "Rites" for inclusion in the Five Classics is that of Chu Hsi of the Sung dynasty. Its sections are more complete, varied and comprehensive than those of the other works.

It may be said that very few Western readers will find interest in the Book of Rites. Scholars, of course, will have to know its contents (as well as those of the others), but for them such background to Chinese history and Court ritual is a matter of some importance. The general reader will get all he needs to know on such matters from sections of the Analects and the explanatory notes on the relevant passages.

V. SPRING AND AUTUMN ANNALS (*Ch'un Ch'iu*)

This, the last of the Five Classics, is, of itself, the dullest reading of all, being but a bare catalogue of events in the State of Lu (the State of Confucius) over a period of some 240 years. The commentators have done their best to instil into the reader some sense of the importance of the work, owing to the careful choice of words in the description of serious events. It is said to be the *chef d'oeuvre* of Confucius and to have been completed but two years before his death. The work is divided into twelve books, each covering the reign of one of the twelve rulers during the period dealt with.

While it may safely be said that no foreign reader would be stirred by a reading of the Spring and Autumn Annals, the case is quite different with one of the three principal, early commentaries on the work. The three famous commentaries are those by Kung-yang Kao, Ku-liang Ch'ih and Tso-ch'iu Ming (or Tso Ch'iu-ming, the name form being still undecided). But, for interest, stimulation and instruction, "The Commentary of Tso" is far and away the best. Every literate Chinese draws upon it daily, almost hourly, in his quest for an early parallel to a present situation. The style in which it is written, moreover, is so limpid that Tso has been called the Father of Chinese Prose.

In this commentary the bare bones of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* take on flesh and sinew. The simple facts reported, as in a catalogue, in the text become part of a lively, glowing narrative in which people like those we know move back and forth in conditions similar to our own. Tso's Commentary is one of the great works of all time and all ages. No Chinese education is complete without a thorough grasp of it.

There are many commentaries on these commentaries and throughout the centuries, since these first three standard commentaries appeared, others and yet others have swelled the total seeking to interpret and expand the frequently enigmatic sentences of Confucius. But, even today, many Chinese of unquestioned judgment hold fast to Tso, however many other commentaries they may have read.

We cannot conclude this section on the Confucian Canon without adding a note on a small book which has had great influence on Chinese thought and which is still read widely, even in these Republican days. This is a small treatise bearing the title *Hsiao Ching*, usually translated "The Classic of Filial Piety."

Traditionally the work is "a conversation between Confucius and his disciple, Tseng Ts'an," in the course of which the principles of filial piety are categorically laid down as a basis of Confucian precept. Its date is disputed but it is certainly not much later than Confucius himself. Liu Hsiang, the great Han bibliographer, collated various editions and established the traditional text, in eighteen chapters, which has come down to our day. We ourselves brought home from China a wood-block edition bearing the cyclical date, Wan Li *Chia-shên* (i.e., A.D. 1584). This copy had a commentary by the T'ang Emperor, Ming Huang (A.D. 685-762) and we had occasion to read and refer to it often enough to remember most of it by heart, before an unlucky bomb in September, 1940, robbed us of it forever.

The main interest, for the foreign student, of this little book is the light it throws on the all-important family system of Chinese social life. A careful reading of the book will give the answer to many puzzles encountered by the foreigner in his attempts to understand Chinese sociology. Many editions of the work carry, as a sort of illustrative appendix, the "Twenty-four Examples of Filial Piety." These are stories of outstanding children of all periods who distinguished themselves by their devotion to their parents and their careful observation of the principles laid down in the Classic. Occasionally, too, *Hsiao Ching* is printed with the text of *Chung Ching* or the Classic of Loyalty, which is mainly concerned with the loyalty which should inform the actions of a Minister serving his ruler and the people. Or, again, the second text may be the one known as *Hsiao Hsüeh* or Instruction for Youth, a moral treatise preparing the young student for the more ambitious ethical manuals he must later commit to memory.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE FIVE CLASSICS

Y King antiquissimus sinarum liber quem ex latina interpretatione P. Regis aliorumque ex Soc. Jesu P.P. edidit Julius Mohl, 1834. Stuttgartiae et Tubingae. 2 Volumes.

The Shoo King, or the Historical Classic : being the most authentic record of the annals of the Chinese Empire ; illustrated by later commentators. Translated by W. H. Medhurst, Sen. Shanghai, 1846.

Confucii Chi King sive Liber Carminum. Ex Latina P. Lacharme, interpretatione edidit Julius Mohl. Stuttgartiae et Tubingae, 1830

Li Ki ou Mémorial des Rites, traduit pour la première fois du Chinois et accompagné de notes, de commentaires et du texte original par J. M. Callery. Turin, 1853.

Le Tcheou Li ou Rites des Tcheou, traduit pour la première fois du Chinois par feu Edouard Biot. Paris, 1851. 2 volumes et Table Analytique. (This translation is still most valuable, so much so that it remains the only complete translation of the work.)

The Chinese Classics, Chinese text with English translation and notes, prolegomena, etc. Volume III the Shoo King (in two parts) ; Volume IV the She King (in two parts) ; Volume V the Spring and Autumn Annals (in two parts).

Yih King, or the Classic of Changes, Chinese text with English translation, Notes and Appendix, by C. McClatchie. Shanghai, 1876.

Yih King, translated by James Legge (Sacred Books of the East). 1882.

Chou King, the Chinese text in Chinese and Roman characters with French translation and notes by S. Couvreur. Hien Hien, 1916.

Cheu King, Chinese text in Chinese and Roman characters with French and Latin translations and a vocabulary by S. Couvreur. 1896.

Li Ki ou *Mémoires sur les Bienséances et les Cérémonies*, Chinese text in Chinese and Roman characters, with French and Latin translations and notes. 2 Volumes. Ho Kien Fou, 1899-1913.

Li Ki, translated by James Legge, 2 Volumes. 1885.

I Li, or Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial, translated from the Chinese, with introduction, notes, illustrations and plans, by John Steele. 2 volumes. 1917. (A very careful and trustworthy version.)

Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan, Chinese text in Chinese and Roman characters, with French translation by S. Couvreur. 3 Volumes. 1914.

EARLY EXTRA—CANONICAL CLASSICS

There are numerous works which do not form part of the Confucian Canon, but which are of such outstanding importance that they are true classics. Among these must be mentioned a few very briefly.

A book with the title *Erh Ya* (known to the older generation of Western scholars as the "Literary Expositor"), of early date, is interesting as the progenitor of the encyclopaedic type of dictionary so typically Chinese. It is, in effect, a dictionary of terms used in classical and general works of the period and, by analogy and definition, it sets out the full meaning and force of the terms under review. In nineteen sections, all divisions of Chinese literary activity are covered and the work is most valuable as a guide to the meaning of words in antiquity.

The Classic of all Chinese dictionaries (until superseded by the *K'ang Hsi Tzu Tien*) was the *Shuo Wen* in the first century A.D. This work is still used as the source of information on early meanings, as well as for the identification of the seal-forms of Chinese script with their modern counterparts.

Shan Hai Ching, "The Classic of Hills and Seas," professes to give an authentic description of geographical charts which were engraved on nine bronze vessels belonging to the Emperor Yu. He had caused these vessels to be made after he had subdued the floods which had laid waste the country. The authenticity of this work has been much discussed, but whether, as some claim, it is anterior to the Chou dynasty or belongs to a later date in that dynasty, the book is certainly ancient and has more than an antiquarian interest.

Shih Chi or Historical Record, by Ssü-ma Ch'ien, second century B.C., is the first really methodical history of China. It is a monumental work in 130

books and is indispensable for students of the history of China. An excellent French translation of the first half of this work, by E. Chavannes, was published 1899-1905.

There are twenty-five dynastic histories covering the whole period of Chinese history from antiquity down to the Republic. These are voluminous and detailed but none exists in English, except that part of the History of the Earlier Han Dynasty has been translated by H. H. Dubs in two volumes (1941-1945).

Down the ages there have been numerous other histories, all mostly on the earlier pattern, such as *T'ung chien Kang mu*.

CH'U TZ'U—THE ELEGIES OF CH'U

Among the earliest models of literary composition are the Elegies of Ch'u. These date from the fourth century B.C. and are the work of but two or three men. The leading member of this small group is known by the title *Li Sao*, variously rendered "Falling into Trouble," "An Elegy on Encountering Sorrows," and "Tristesse de la Separation." It was the composition of Ch'ü Yüan, a minister of the small State of Ch'u, who, finding his advice disregarded by his prince and the affairs of the kingdom going from bad to worse, clasped a stone to his bosom and drowned himself in the Milo River. The annual Dragon Boat Festival in China is a search for the remains of this loyal minister, who is the paragon of loyalty to the best interests of state and people.

Li Sao is dazzling, moving and plaintive and has exercised the skill of many native and foreign scholars. James Legge read three papers on it before the Royal Asiatic Society in London last century (1895), and gave his own version of the poem in one of them. The best English translation thus far is that by Lim Boon Keng, then Principal of Amoy University, in 1929, published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai.

The other elegies in this collection have been so overshadowed by *Li Sao* that they are little known outside China. But they are worth the study of the student of Chinese literature as being peculiarly of their age and the basis of later literary forms. Innumerable commentaries on these works have appeared and much research has gone into the elucidation of the textual difficulties.

SOME TAOIST CLASSICS

Having dealt more or less conscientiously with the Confucian Canon (the *JU* part of the *JU-TAO-FU* mentioned in the Introduction), we now turn to a brief discussion of the principal Classics of Tao. We regret that space considerations bid us be brief. We unashamedly admit ourselves at one with those native Chinese scholars of our youthful years who, like us, gave all due attention to the mastery of the Confucian Canon, but, when leisure came, drew out a volume of Chuang Tzú and read with pure delight.

The word *tao* has, among its many meanings, the primary signification of "a road, path, way, method, system." And yet, when we take up the first book of Taoism, the work known as *Lao Tzu* or as *Tao Tê Ching* (by Lao Tzú), the very first line in it tells us:—

"The *tao* that can be trodden (described, traversed, etc.) is not the constant *tao*; the name that can be named is no constant name." (*Tao k'o tao fei ch'ang tao; ming k'o ming fei ch'ang ming.*)

So we start off with the certainty that, so far as Lao Tzū is concerned, there is little use in trying to define our terms. In any event *Tao Tê Ching* has to be read in the original (with more than one commentary) to be understood at all and many parts of it can be "apprehended" or felt, but not carried over into English. This small book of about 5,000 Chinese characters has caused more trouble to commentators and translators than any other book in Chinese. If it is any comfort to those who have tried not only to translate but to teach the *Tao Tê Ching*, they may be told that hundreds of commentaries on the book have come from the learned brushes of Chinese scholars and that no two agree on the exact meaning of obscure passages.

Let the Western reader who has no Chinese read the version by James Legge (in the Sacred Books of the East), that by Paul Carus, and then compare both with Arthur Waley's translation under the title "The Way and its Power." But those who read Waley *must* have the patience first to read all that goes before the actual translation or they will lose much.

Now we come to one of the highest achievements in Chinese literature and philosophy, the Works of Chuang Tzu, less well known as Nan Hua Ching (the Classic of Nan Hua, this latter being a place-name forever identified with Chuang Tzū). It has been said that as Mencius was to Confucius, so was Chuang Tzū to Lao Tzū. But the comparison must not be pressed too far or it will not pass. Nothing, however, could be more different than the *style* of these two Taoist Fathers. That of Lao Tzū is compact and concise to the point of obscurity (a "white dwarf" of literature, as Lionel Giles calls it in his introduction to Chu Ta-kao's English translation), here and there rhymed and metrical, but everywhere devoid of that style which the best Chinese writers display in all its glory. Lao Tzū, indeed, had no pretensions (even if he did actually write the work); he founded no School (at least not consciously), he intended no brilliant *apologia* for his Quietest doctrines which, by its compelling style and vigorous argument should sway readers of after times. He was casual, forthright, individualistic, original, but he did not seek to proselytize.

Chuang Tzū is of another world altogether. Persuasion is in the air he breathes and in the sentences he writes. His style attracts even those who do not think as he does and begins to win them over before they know the process has begun. His style has been called superb, flowing, poetical and compelling among many other adjectives, which sound more reasonable and attractive in Chinese than in English. Lao Tzū is the intellectual anarchist, the simple prophet of *laissez faire*, by following which policy all things will be effortlessly achieved. Chuang Tzū is the deep-thinking metaphysician, the true idealist who rounds out Lao Tzū's teaching and goes far beyond it. His world of mental creation will remind many a reader of Plato's World of Ideas. But whatever Chuang Tzū had elected to teach he would have been read and re-read for the magic and witchery of his style. As it is it is difficult to know whether he is now read more for his manner than for his matter. Let any curious reader try the section entitled "Autumn Floods" and try to decide for himself. The non-Chinese reading Westerner is indeed fortunate in this case, for he has available an excellent English translation of the whole of the Works by the late Professor H. A. Giles under the title "Chuang Tzū, Mystic, Moralist and Social Reformer."

A third classic of the Taoist School goes under the name *Lieh Tzu*, a work attributed to one Lieh Yü-kou, but said by some to be a later work. There have not been wanting those who say that Lieh himself was a figment of Chuang Tzū's imagination and that someone, not realising this, wrote a book to fill out the empty name. Such a problem is not for the general reader, it may safely be left to the research scholar. Those who are interested may take up "Taoist Teachings" (a partial translation of *Lieh Tzu* by Lionel Giles, in the Wisdom of the East Series). They will, no doubt, agree with those of us who have read the original that, whoever wrote the book, it is well worth reading.

By this time the reader will not be surprised to learn that although we have to content ourselves with the above brief references to three remarkable books (and the mere mention of two others—*T'ai Shang Kan Ying Pien*, the Book of Rewards and Punishments; and *Huai Nan Hung Lieh*, a collection of essays on Tao by Huai Nan Tzu), the Taoist Corpus rivals in size that of the Confucian Canon, as also that of the Buddhist writings.

CLASSICS OF BUDDHISM

Buddhism came into China at the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D. Wang Ch'ung, a writer of keen perception and deep analytical insight, who wrote on all subjects currently discussed in his day, lived through the greater part of the first century A.D. and he never once mentions Buddhism.

Apart from Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka and parts of it, there are several works which are classics in their own right. An important work of this class is that known as *Fu Kuo Chi* (translated into English by the late H. A. Giles under the title "A Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms"). This is a detailed record of the most arduous journey undertaken by Fa Hsien, a Buddhist priest who, in A.D. 399 left China with a retinue of fellow-seekers on a voyage overland to India and other Buddhist lands in a quest for texts of the Canon, images, and other Buddhist relics. Many fell by the way, but Fa Hsien pressed on and duly arrived in India and collected what he had set out to find. With all his treasures of the faith he took ship from Ceylon for China, where he arrived after storms and perils which almost made him give himself up for lost. The text of *Fu Kuo Chi* is uneven and, in places, exceedingly obscure, but the narrative is written in a most convincing manner.

The *Ta T'ang Hsi Yü Chi*, a T'ang Dynasty production, is an account of 138 countries and States of Asia by Hsüan (Yüan) Chuang, a Buddhist priest, who gathered most of his information from Sanskrit works.

A work often confused with the above because of the similarity, in Roman script, of the short title of both, is *Hsi Yu Chi*, translated into English by Arthur Waley under the title "Monkey." This is a fictional account of the adventures of Hsüan Chuang, during his expedition to India in search of sacred books and emblems. This work, together with three others to be mentioned later, forms the collection known since the production of a commentary on all four novels by Chin Sheng-t'an, as the *Ssu ta ch'i shu*, or the "Four Marvellous and Outstanding Works."

A mere list of the titles only of the individual works of the Buddhist Canon in Chinese and the commentaries thereon would fill a book many times th

size of this small work. Several independent translations have been made and usually the work was carried out by men who were first-rate scholars, so that the translations have had deeply interested readers and much influence through all periods since the introduction of Buddhism. We can here mention but a few which have good English versions (mostly in the Sacred Books of the East Series).

The three main classes of Buddhist writings fall as follows : *Ching*, i.e., classics of the Buddhist Canon proper, *Lü*, works of religious discipline and *Lun*, works of a philosophical or metaphysical, rather than purely religious character.

Many of the works are too voluminous to have found Western translators thus far. For example, the *Ta pan jo po lo mi to ching* (this is, of course, a Chinese transcription of the Sanskrit name of the Classic, *Maha prajna paramita sutra*, except for the *Maha*—great—which appears in the Chinese title as the first word—*Ta* and *Ching* which translates *sutra*), has 600 books. Some parts of it, however, appear in English in the above-mentioned series, as well as in the Pali translation series where, however, the translations are made from the Pali and not the Chinese Canon. A good translation of the short work *Wei shih êrh shih lun*, accompanied by the Chinese text appears in the American Oriental Series.

There is no space to mention even the titles of the numerous Chinese works descriptive of Buddhism, its teaching, its philosophy and metaphysics, and the esoteric significance of many of its practices and ceremonies. So wide a subject needs a work all to itself.

AGRICULTURAL CLASSICS

From early times the Chinese have practised the various arts of agriculture and from very early times they have written about it. We are told that when the first Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty, deciding to ensure that Chinese history should begin with him, ordered the burning of all existing works, those on agriculture and husbandry were among those excepted from the ordinance. We can, for the most part, only guess at the nature of many of the works then extant, for they have not come down to our day in their original form but only as digests forming part of later compilations.

From the T'ang Dynasty a mutilated fragment of a work on the construction and parts of ploughs has come down to us under the title *Lei Ssu Ching*. The *Nung shu* or Treatise on Husbandry, deals generally with the principles of agriculture, cattle-breeding and the rearing of silk-worms. Many pithy passages in this book recall the apophthegms scattered through the *de re rustica* of Cato. His plain common sense is echoed in many a paragraph in the Chinese work. A later publication with the same title, contains 22 books and gives, with minute detail, instructions for dealing with every phase of husbandry and agriculture.

All earlier works on agriculture are summed up, digested, and here and there expanded, in the great work known as *Nung Chêng Chüan Shu*, or Encyclopaedia of Agriculture. This occupies 60 books. The whole field of classical references to agriculture is surveyed in the first three books. The next two cover problems of land division, the six following detail the various processes of husbandry,

the next nine deal with problems of farm hydraulics and irrigation generally. Then follow four books on all kinds of agricultural implements, six books on the principles governing the time and method of planting different crops, six books on the rearing of silkworms, four books on planting trees, one book on animal breeding, the preparing of food in one book and 18 books on methods of guarding against natural calamities inducing famine or partial scarcities.

A still more comprehensive work than the foregoing was issued in 1742, under Imperial order, with the title *Shou Shih T'ung K'ao*.

THE BEGINNINGS OF HETERODOXY

It has already been made clear that the Confucian Canon was a development through later ages rather than a conscious creation of its own period. But by the time of Mencius there was certainly something of the form of a "Confucian School" and the Second Sage considered himself the leader of that School.

In Mencius Book III, *Hsia*, ix. 9, 10, we read :—

"The words of Yang Chu and Mo Tzu fill the ears of the world. If you listen to people's discussions anywhere, you will find that they have adopted the views of the one or the other. Now, Yang's principle is 'Each one for himself,' which does not acknowledge the claims of the sovereign. Mo's principle is 'To love all equally,' which does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. To acknowledge neither king nor father is to be in the state of a beast. If their principles are not stopped and the principles of Confucius set forth, their perverse speaking will delude the people and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness.

"I am alarmed by these things and address myself to the defence of the doctrines of the former sages and to oppose Yang and Mo. I drive away their licentious expressions, so that such perverse speakers may not be able to show themselves. When sages shall rise up again they will not change my words."

Strong wording, even for such a rugged and forthright man as Mencius. The sages who rose up after Mencius had disappeared from the scene did, for the most part, leave his words unchanged and unchallenged, at least so far as Yang Chu is concerned. Mo Tzu is in a different category altogether, and from the time of Mencius downward many have seen in his idealistic teaching a close parallel to the higher ethical teaching of such systems as Stoicism, Neo-Platonism, Buddhism and Christianity. It was the literalism of Mencius which prevented him from seeing that he was logically and philosophically wrong in condemning equally Yang and Mo.

Now what were these sayings which so angered Mencius that his campaign against them was one of the greatest tasks of his life? Yang Chu has frequently been called the "Chinese Epicurus," but only by those who share the popular misconception of Epicurus and his teaching. It is, perhaps, too much to hope that any but classical scholars will accord Epicurus his rightful lofty place among the world's thinkers. Yang Chu, so far as the scanty remains of his *dicta* permit us to judge, cannot begin to compare with Epicurus. Yang seem

to have enunciated boldly and simply an unadulterated hedonism, a purely selfish pursuit of pleasure wherever it might be found.

All that we know of his teaching is to be found in *Lieh Tzu* Cap. 7. Here are a few extracts :—

“ Yang Chu said : A hundred years are the extreme limit of longevity and not one man in a thousand enjoys such a period of life. Even supposing there should be such an one then the period of infancy being borne in the arms and, later, doting old age, will occupy nearly the half ; what is forgotten in sleep and what is lost in the waking day will occupy nearly the half ; pain and sickness, sorrow and bitterness, losses, anxieties and fears will occupy nearly the half. There may remain ten years or so, but I reckon that not even in them will be found an hour of smiling self-abandonment without the shadow of solicitude. What, then, is this life of man ? What pleasure is in it ? . . .

“ That wherein people differ is the matter of life ; that wherein they agree is death. While they are alive we have the distinctions of intelligence and stupidity, honour and meanness ; when they are dead, we have so much stinking rottenness decaying away. This is the common lot. Yet intelligence and stupidity, honour and meanness are not in one's power ; neither is that condition of putridity, decay and utter disappearance. A man's life is not in his own hands, nor is his death ; his intelligence is not his own, nor is his stupidity, nor his honour, nor his meanness. All are born and all die—the intelligent and the stupid, the honourable and the mean. At ten years of age some die ; at a hundred years of age some die. The virtuous and the sage die ; the ruffian and the fool also die. Alive they were Yao and Shun ; dead, they were so much rotten bone. Alive they were Chieh and Chou ; dead, they were so much rotten bone. Who could know any difference between their rotten bones ? While alive, therefore, let us hasten to make the best of life ; what leisure have we to be thinking of anything after death ? ”

The rest of Yang's exposition of his “ principles ” is but an expansion of what has been quoted above. We know from Mencius that many in his day embraced the tenets of Yang : we know only too well that many today find no appeal in any other view of life. It is easy to see the fallacy in Yang's reasoning ; the only justification for the inclusion of his “ works ” in a survey of Chinese Classics is the “ borrowed light ” they have received from illustrious men, from Mencius to our own day. Those who wish to read the whole of Yang Chu may find a careful translation in the *Wisdom of the East Series*, under the title “ Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure,” by A. Forke.

But what of Mo Tzu ? Whereas the remains of Yang amount to scarcely a thousand Chinese characters, the transmitted writings of Mo Tzu have come down to us in 15 books. Originally of 71 sections, the Works have lost 17 in the course of time and the 15 books we now have are made up of only 54 sections. They comprise essays on moral and political science, dialectics and metaphysics and, curiously enough, the principles of military tactics and stratagems (cf. Frontinus, Aeneas Tacticus and Onasander).

It is on three sections only of the Works of Mo Tzu that Mencius vented his bitterness, the three sections headed *Chien Ai* (Universal Love). Starting with the statement that it is the business of the sages to effect good government

and thus remove disorder, Mo Tzu claims that disorder arises from self-love to the detriment of one's responsibilities towards others, prince to minister, father to son, elder to younger brother, and the like. If all men displayed an universal love towards their fellows then disorder would vanish and all under Heaven would be well-governed and happy. It has been said, not unfairly, that the three sections on Universal Love constitute a pre-Christian exposition of the Golden Rule of Christianity. In any event it is illuminating to find, at such an early date, so advanced a thinker and ethicist trying to instruct his countrymen in principles which, put into practice, would make a vigorous, noble United Nations Organization an instant reality.

No complete English translation of the works of Mo Tzu exists as yet, but the ethical essays have been translated (in Probsthain's Oriental Series, Volume XIX, by Y. P. Mei). In a companion volume (Mo Tzu, Rival of Confucius), Professor Mei makes out a case for his thesis that a mere accident prevented Mo Tzu taking the lead from Confucius in the ethical field of Chinese thought.

Among the writers who are on the borderline between orthodoxy and out-right heterodoxy the leading figure is Hsün Tzū. He might very well have been embraced into the official fold but for his strenuous opposition to the Mencian thesis that the Nature of Man is fundamentally good. The writings of Hsün Tzu, like those of Mo Tzu, form a solid corpus.

Hsing O Pien (A Demonstration that the Nature of Man is Evil) forms section 23 of the Works and is the opening of Book 17. As this is so definitely enunciated by Hsün Tzū (in opposition to the didactic assertions of Mencius) some introductory passages of the thesis will here be quoted. It opens with these words :—

“ The nature of man is evil ; the good which it shows is factitious. There belongs to it even at his birth, the love of gain and as actions are in accordance with this, contentions and robberies grow up and self-denial and yielding to others are not to be found. There belong to it envy and dislike, and as actions are in accordance with these, violence and injuries spring up and self-devotedness and faith are not to be found. There belong to it the desires of the ears and the eyes, leading to the (inordinate) love of sounds and beauty and as the actions are in accordance with these, lewdness and disorder spring up and righteousness and propriety, with their various orderly displays, are not to be found.

“ It thus appears that to follow man's nature and yield obedience to its feelings will assuredly conduct to contentions and robberies, to the violation of the duties belonging to everyone's lot and the confounding of all distinctions, till the issue will be in a state of savagism ; and that there must be the influence of teachers and laws and the guidance of propriety and righteousness, from which will spring self-denial, yielding to others, and an observance of the well-ordered regulations of conduct, till the issue will be in a state of good government. From all this it is clear that the nature of man is evil ; the good which it shows is factitious.

“ To illustrate : a crooked stick must be submitted to the press to soften and bend it back and then it becomes straight. A blunt knife must be submitted to the grindstone and whetstone and then it becomes sharp. So the nature of man, being evil, must be submitted to teachers and laws

and then it becomes correct: it must be submitted to propriety and righteousness and then it comes under government. If men were without teachers and laws, their condition would be one of deflection and insecurity, entirely incorrect. If they were without propriety and righteousness, their condition would be one of rebellious disorder, rejecting all government. The sage kings of antiquity, understanding that the nature of man was thus evil, in a state of hazardous deflection and incorrect, rebellious and disorderly and refusing to be governed, set up the principles of propriety and righteousness, framed laws and regulations to straighten and ornament the feelings of that nature and correct them, to tame and change those same feelings and guide them, so that they might all go forth in the way of moral government and in agreement with reason. Now the man who is transformed by teachers and laws, gathers on himself the ornament of learning and proceeds in the path of propriety and righteousness, he is a superior man. But he who gives the rein to his nature and its feelings, indulges its resentments and walks contrary to propriety and righteousness is a mean man. Looking at the subject in this way, we see clearly that the nature of man is evil; the good which it shows is factitious."

This quotation is but a small part of the whole essay. Hsün Tzū develops his theme, illustrating it again and again from history in the traditional Chinese fashion. His reasoning is cogent and his progression sound. This is one of the most famous essays in Chinese literature; together with the same author's *Chêng Ming Pien* (On the Rectification of Names) it is known by every literate Chinese. This essay and the Mencian thesis developing its opposite have produced many fine essays throughout Chinese literary history, the writers arguing this way and that, with an occasional brilliant fence-sitter like Han Yü of the T'ang Dynasty attempting to reconcile irreconcilables by a new analysis of human nature and a regrading of its various attributes.

As in the case of Mo Tzu, no complete English version of the Works of Hsün Tzū has been made as yet. The nearest approach to it will be found in Volume XVI of Probsthain's Oriental Series. This is a translation, by Professor Homer H. Dubs, "of all the important and genuine sections of the work", for Hsün Tzū, like many another author of antiquity has suffered from interpolations. It is not, however, an easy matter to decide with certainty that some sections are forgeries by a later hand and not all foreign scholars of Chinese would be prepared to accept the judgement of Dubs on such a point. The student who uses Dubs' version as a help in reading the Chinese text, should have at hand the valuable critical paper by Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak entitled "Notes on Dubs' Translation of Hsün Tzū," in *T'oung Pao*, volume XXIX, where many errors are corrected and better versions suggested.

In his introduction to his partial translation of the Works, Dubs says:—

"Hsün Tzū was one of the greatest of Chinese philosophers, the Aristotle of China. Yet his importance for us consists not only in his original contributions, but in the fact that he gave the earliest complete and systematic presentation of Confucianism . . ."

With this judgement we are in accord though we may deplore the description of our philosopher as "the Aristotle of China." In that both were profound and analytical thinkers the description is just, but there all resemblance ends. The style of Hsün Tzū is a model and has provoked the admiration of scholars

of all ages ; that of the extant works of Aristotle is scrappy, confused and, sometimes, almost insusceptible of translation. After all, we have reason to believe that what we now have of Aristotle consists merely of his hasty notes, scribbled down hurriedly, for his classroom use. That Cicero, Quintilian and other critical judges of antiquity expressed admiration for the style of Aristotle merely goes to show that they had access to Aristotelian writings which have not come down to us.

Hsün Tzū deserves to be read and re-read by the serious student of Chinese literature no less than by the philosopher.

THE LEGALIST SCHOOL

As the brilliance of the Chou Dynasty thinkers began to decline, there came upon the scene the world's first Nazi-Fascist apologists. These came to be known as Legalist philosophers, because of the emphasis they placed on laws and a rigorous system of rewards and punishments designed to ensure the exact carrying out of State injunctions. Their hey-day lay in the middle of the third century B.C., and culminated in the unification of all China under Ch'in Shih Huang Ti.

For the Legalists the State was everything and the individual nothing. If people would not obey, they were to be ruthlessly wiped out. By the severity of punishments a state of fear was to be created wherein citizens would hurry to execute the orders of the State for fear of the consequences should they fail. Neighbour was encouraged to inform against neighbour, children against their parents, appropriate rewards to such informers being paid by the government. Whatever of efficiency there was in the new State there was no humanity ; instead a brutal ruthlessness pervaded the land and lay heavy upon the people.

The outstanding classic of the Legalist School is the book known as *Shang Chün Shu* (The Book of the Lord of Shang). This was a work of 29 chapters of which four have been lost. Two or three lines from one of the oldest parts of the work will show what the reader may expect : -

" Once the law is fixed one should not damage it with virtuous words."

" He who procrastinates in creating order will be dismembered."

" Govern by punishments and wage war by rewards."

A complete translation into English of the Book of Lord Shang (with a valuable introduction and many illuminating notes) forms Volume XVII of Probsthain's Oriental Series, and is the work of Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak of Leyden University. This work is an outstanding example of what European sinology can accomplish.

In his preface the translator says rightly that both Shang Yang and his book have, throughout the generations, been execrated in China. Most foreign readers, too, if they can struggle through the difficult text, would agree with the opinion of Su Tung-p'o :—

" Speaking of Shang Yang befouls the mouth and tongue, writing about him sullies the paper ; when his methods are applied in the world,

ruin of the State, misery of the people, destruction of the family and loss of one's own life follow one after the other."

One more horrible example of the triumph of materialist concepts over humanitarian ones !*

Another Legalist writer (important for his essays on the Taoist School of thought) is Han Fei Tzū, who died by his own hand in prison, while for Lord Shang the most violent end was reserved—that of being torn to pieces. The ending of most of the Legalists was as violent as their lives and doctrines had been.

The text of Han Fei Tzū is, in many places, corrupt and an English rendering is far from easy. None the less an attempt has been made, and the first of two volumes to contain the complete works of Han Fei Tzū has already appeared as the most recent volume of Probsthain's Oriental Series. The translation is by W. K. Liao and, although open to challenge here and there, it is a gallant and eminently readable effort. It is to be hoped that when conditions make the issue of the concluding volume possible, Han Fei Tzū will have many readers whose lack of Chinese has hitherto kept them in ignorance of his work.

As has been found with other Nazi-Fascist systems, so under the Legalists in China, words and terms soon ceased to carry their traditional meanings and degenerated into catchwords used loosely by those in power. With the disappearance of the totalitarians this disadvantage was felt and a body of thinkers, called dialecticians, began work on words and ideas and their proper definition with a view to the re-establishment of the rule of the rectification of names.

THE DIALECTICIANS

Both in Ancient China and Ancient Greece the dialecticians began by enjoying a good reputation among thinkers and ended by being despised as mere triflers with words and ideas. Another name by which these thinkers were known was "sophists," though it must be remembered that it is only in comparatively modern times that the word "sophist" acquired the unpleasant connotations it bears in our day. These early men were sincere seekers after truth and were in no sense "triflers."

Protagoras has a good parallel in Han Fei Tzū, who, although not included among the Chinese dialecticians, uses many of the arguments so much favoured by them. There are Platonic echoes in Yin Wên Tzū : especially where both treat of truth, agreeing that while truth is always truth and falsehood falsehood to the truly wise man, in our world a lie frequently and successfully masquerades among the people as the truth. It is not, they say, objective truth which reigns supreme, but that which the general opinion, the *consensus omnium*, declares to be the truth, though it be falsehood. No amount of argument or disputation will turn the stubborn, ignorant man away from his preconceptions for they please him, even if they bring about his mental and spiritual ruin. Only the broadening of the ordinary man's range of vision, until it comprehends a wider field than his own immediate interests (or, rather, what in his imperfect vision *appear* to be his own interests, although they are not actually so), will

*Another work of the Legalist School, whose claims to priority over Shang Tzu are not admitted by the generality of scholars, is Kuan Tzu, attributed to Kuan Chung, fifth century B.C., but the book is a hotch-potch from different periods.

serve to bring about that true life which will give all mankind full happiness. Individual happiness is as unobtainable as physical immortality—and as undesirable. For what right-minded man can enjoy personal, restricted happiness while looking on the misery of a fellow? Man has yet to learn the art of seeing things whole; of seeing beyond the microcosm which is himself. He must learn more than the three R's and how to feed and clothe the body. That is not education. True education teaches him how to live and that for others rather than for himself.

Perhaps the best known of the Chinese dialecticians is Kung-sun Lung Tzū, largely on account of two brilliant and provocative essays known as *Pai Ma Lun* (A Discussion on a White Horse) and *Chien Pai Lun* (A Discussion on the Hard and the White). The main burden of his white horse essay, shorn of all its argumentation, is the simple statement that "a white horse (i.e., a specific horse) is not a horse (i.e., a horse in general)." It is a development of the thesis that "a shape and a quality combined do not, in themselves, constitute a new generality." Indeed, Kung-sun Lung Tzū goes so far as to suggest that there is impropriety in logic in combining a quality and a shape.

This stand was a great step forward in the direction of clarifying thought and rectifying names. For, said the dialecticians, what advantage or use can there be in argument, if your terms are not first defined. There is quite a modern touch about that.

The essay on the hard and the white followed much the same pattern as the earlier essay. Hardness and whiteness are, indeed, two qualities which may be found united in one body, e.g., a stone. But can you by *looking* at a stone discover or estimate its hardness, or by *feeling* it discover its whiteness? The classicist and philosopher will readily recall parallels to these arguments in the early philosophers of Ancient Greece. Kung-sun Lung Tzū, moreover, used the dialogue form so familiar in Plato's arguments. The relation between sense-perception and actuality in the worlds of phenomena and ideas engaged the early Chinese philosophers as keenly as it did the thinkers of Ancient Greece. Their conclusions also were markedly similar.

The next great name in the school of sophists was that of Hui Tzū. Unfortunately, all we know of him we have through the brilliant writings of Chuang Tzū, and Chuang Tzū was not in sympathy with the dialecticians. Chuang Tzū, like Mencius, was an assured apologist with a message of his own and he had little time for those whose main interest seemed to him "empty disputation." For him the truth was already discovered and he had but to preach it. Any who wished to probe questioningly into the things he considered axiomatic were not far removed from fools. Yet was it not the restless, ever-questioning mind of man which has brought into the light that small part of eternal truth we already possess?

In Chuang Tzū, cap. xxxiii, *Tien hsia*, we are given some of the paradoxes of Hui Tzū. The early commentators on classical texts did not fully understand either the intention or the method of the dialecticians and thus they failed to see that the apparently inexplicable has, after all, an explanation. Here are a few of Hui Tzū's pronouncements:—

The sun sets when it is in the zenith; creatures die when they are born.
(An arguable thesis for the principle of relativity. When the sun has

reached the zenith it has already begun its setting ; death is inherent in life, so from the moment of birth a creature is heading towards death.)

Going to Yüeh today one arrives there yesterday. (Another relativity thesis. J. W. Dunne should be interested in this one!)

There are feathers in an egg. (*Potential* feathers, anyway, argued the dialecticians, for if there were not how could hatched eggs produce feathered birds ?)

Fire is not hot. (Here is the eternal *sensation* problem. Is it true to say that because a man feels the sensation of heat from a fire that the fire itself is hot, or is it truer to say that the fire induces a sensation of heat in an organism whose senses are acted upon by the fire ?)

The eye does not see. (It is the mind behind the eye which, using the *mechanism* of the eye, accomplishes the act of seeing.)

There is a time when a swiftly flying arrow is neither in motion nor at rest. (Compare this with the famous "flying arrow" paradox of Zeno of Elea.)*

There were other sophists worthy of mention, but space forbids their inclusion. Yin Wên Tzû has already been mentioned and Têng Hsi Tzû should not be forgotten. These writers are difficult but well worth reading for those who know Chinese. They still await adequate treatment at the hands of a competent Western scholar.

MILITARY CLASSICS

The Chinese include among their philosophical writers those who wrote on the art and strategy of war. To be sure, most Chinese writers display philosophical tendencies as soon as they put brush to paper, and the military writers are no exception.

The outstanding military classic of China is *Sun Tzû Ping Fa* or "The Art of War" by Sun Tzû. This is a small work of 13 sections, dating from the sixth or fifth century B.C. It has attracted the attention of the best minds of China down the ages, and the list of commentators on the difficult text would astound those who did not understand the catholicity of the Chinese mind in the matters of knowledge. Was not Mo Tzû, propounder of the thesis of Universal Love, also a distinguished writer on military stratagems ?

The value which a war-loving nation placed on Sun Tzû's work may be seen from the fact that a Japanese bibliography once in our possession listed 43 editions of the book. We ourselves bought 11 different editions in Japanese while in Japan, only to discover that they were far from trustworthy. The best edition had 18 misprints in the Chinese text and innumerable misinterpretations in the Japanese *yomikata* or "reading," as well as in the Japanese commentary. Admittedly the text of Sun Tzû is difficult, but such a record seems to show that he was far beyond the mental stature of any of his Japanese editors.

*There are Chinese parallels, too, for the paradox of Heraclitus (XLI):-

"You cannot step twice into the same river (for fresh waters are continually flowing past your feet)." Other writers maintained that you could not so step even once, for the "present" river becomes "past" even as your foot descends.

Luckily the English reader has no need to wrestle with the difficulties of the original. An excellent, careful and well-annotated translation with a most valuable introduction has been made by Lionel Giles* (late Keeper of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum). Doctor Giles is precisely the translator required for a writer like Sun Tzŭ; his careful scholarship is backed by a wide reading of other military writers, and this enriches his commentary with many an illuminating parallel from Western writers who, like Sun Tzŭ, were primarily leaders in the field.

Sun Tzŭ is of his time, but here and there he is astonishingly up-to-date. He surveys the whole field of the art of making war, ending with a chapter on the primitive intelligence service (On the use of Spies).

A second classic of war is that known as Wu Tzŭ, written by Wu Ch'ï who died in 381 B.C. This is smaller than the previously-mentioned work and consists only of six chapters dealing with such subjects as the part of war in the government of a country, a proper estimation of the strength of the enemy, on the method of controlling military forces and the duties of officers.

Classed with the foregoing (by the *Ssu K'u Ch'üan Shu*) as "the three oldest works in Chinese on the military art" is a book called *Ssü-ma Fa* in five sections. We mention this work only to point out a startling parallel. In section I of *Ssü-ma Fa* we read, "If by making war you can stop war, then although it means war it may be done" (*i chan chih chan sui chan k'o yeh*). In Sallust's *Oratio ad Caesarum I*, we read: "The wise wage war to establish peace" (*Sapientes pacis causa bellum gerunt . . .*). There is here also a reminiscence of Cicero's Seventh Philippic, 6 xix.†

The Chinese are among the most peaceful and peace-loving peoples in the world. Yet they have shown themselves masters of both the theory and practice of war. This has been a necessary corollary to their position, geographically and culturally, throughout the ages. But, through all the vicissitudes of her far from peaceful history, China has always esteemed her cultural victories far above her military triumphs. Even in the writings of her professional soldiers war emerges as a disagreeable necessity when all other means have failed. Here is another matter in which the Powers of the West can gain much from a careful reading of Chinese literature.‡

MEDICAL CLASSICS

Medicine is an ancient art in China, although surgery lay under a ban of horror of dismemberment through long periods of Chinese history. None the less China had her skilful surgeons long before the Christian era, as the discovery of trepanned skulls testifies. It was, after all, a clever surgeon and physician who, three centuries B.C., anticipated Harvey in the discovery of the fact that the blood circulates through the human system.

* "Sun Tzŭ on the Art of War." The oldest military treatise in the world. Luzac 1910.

† In view of the recent war between China and Japan and its result, yet one other quotation from *Ssu ma Fa* is topical: "Now a country that loves war, although it be great it will perish; if the Empire be securely at peace, should it forget war it will find itself in danger." (*Ku Kuo sui ta hao chan pi wang; t'ien hsia sui an wang chan pi wei.*)

‡ After this was written there reached us from Australia a copy of a work by Professor A. L. Sadler entitled "Three Military Classics of China." These are the three works discussed above. The author has added, in an Appendix, the Chinese text of Wu Tzŭ.

It is high time that more of the collected medical lore of China was made available to Western students. It is well established that anaesthesia prior to operation was a common practice in early China (before the end of Chou). Partial and local anaesthesia was secured in a variety of ways, many of which are still used today in the country districts of China, where the benefits and safeguards of a modern operating theatre are not accessible.

In the bibliographical section of the History of the Han Dynasty, 36 works on medical and therapeutic subjects are listed under four divisions.

The oldest medical treatise extant is probably the *Huang Ti Su Wên*. Admitting that its claim to be the work of the Yellow Emperor himself cannot be substantiated, it certainly does date from several centuries before the Christian era. It manifestly contains the traditionally current knowledge handed down from the earliest times by practitioners of the art of healing. Another work (whose title calls it a classic) is *Ling Ch'ü Ching*, a book on the treatment of internal maladies, as well as an exposition of the practice of acupuncture. This book may be comparatively late, but it none the less incorporates many of the practices and principles of early healers.

Gynaecology is represented by *Fu Jen Tu Ch'üan Liang Fang* in 24 books. Each section of the work ends with prescriptions found useful by the writer in dealing with the special disorder just described. Another important work is *Ch'ü Yin Kang Mu*.

Pên Ts'ao Kang Mu is the great *materia medica* of the Chinese. For long neglected by Western scholars, its value (particularly in connection with indigenous complaints and diseases) has, in recent years been recognised and parts of it are now to be had in English translations (e.g., Avian Drugs, Animal Drugs, etc.). But the work is so great in compass (52 books) that what has already been made accessible to non-Chinese readers represents little more than a fiftieth of the whole.

The Chinese have always considered the pulse as an all-important element in the correct determination of the patient's condition, and the progress or arrest of a disorder. There are several hundreds of works on the pulse alone, some of them showing the true scientific spirit. Then there are treatises on "locality diseases," which recall the chapters in the Hippocratic Corpus on "Airs and Waters." As might be expected, there are also numerous works dealing with the aetiology and treatment of various fevers. Books of regimen and case-books drawn from experience abound, but there are no works on nervous disorders. It is, of course, possible that an industrialized China will have need of them but hitherto, it would appear, the Chinese have been singularly happy in their nervous systems. China has yet to produce her Myers and her Freud!

BELLES LETTRES CLASSICS

Too many works qualify for inclusion here for this section to be much more than a catalogue of names.

First of all, perhaps, should come *Lun Hêng* by Wang Ch'ung of the Later Han Dynasty. Although not a sympathetic figure to many of his own countrymen, and still less so to many of his foreign readers (he was a materialistic fatalist), Wang compels admiration for his downright objectivity and his

scientific accuracy in recording what he saw and heard. He has left us a supremely valuable picture of Chinese thought and belief in the first century A.D. He was a poor boy and at an early age he hired himself out to a bookseller where he filled in all his spare time reading the books exposed for sale. In this way he gained a thorough knowledge of ancient thought and its development into modern belief. He roams in his essays over the whole field of intellectual activity of his time, examines all the current superstitions and explodes them, points out the weaknesses of those who think they have the remedy for the illnesses of mankind (even Confucius and Mencius are attacked), and states his own conclusions with force and sincerity.

Although copies are now scarce in the market, the Western reader can get from libraries a complete translation of *Lun Hêng*, into English, by A. Forke.

Ch'a Ching is a most delightful work which is still, alas, accessible to the reader of Chinese only. It deals with the tea plant and the whole of what tea means in Chinese social life. It is by Lu Yü who, in an exquisite poem tells what happens to him as he drinks each of seven cups of tea. With the seventh, we are told, divine airs stir under his armpits and lift him aloft to Heaven. What tea that must have been !

The Classic of Tea has ten sections telling of the origin of the plant, utensils used in gathering the leaves, preparation of the leaf for blending, implements used in such preparation, infusion of the leaves, the drinking of the infusion, an historical record of tea and tea-drinking, tea-producing districts, a general summary of the whole, and a memorandum on illustrations. This little classic has been a joy to many generations of Chinese, and its whimsical and sympathetic style delights all foreigners who come upon it.

The work called *Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu* contains much of interest on early China not found elsewhere, but the only Western translation is into German (*Frühling und Herbst des Lü Huh Wei*).

A somewhat difficult work called *Jên Wu Chih* is the first Chinese work on analytical and practical psychology. It was written during the third century of our era by *Liu Shao*. Modern students are luckier than we were, for they have a careful translation by J. K. Shryock at their disposal (Volume II of the American Oriental Series, 1937). We well remember our own Ming period wood-block edition, now no more. Shryock's version is given the happy title "The Study of Human Abilities."

Pai Hu T'ung I is attributed to Pan Ku, the famous author of the Han Dynastic History. It derives its title from the White Tiger Hall, one of the chambers of the palace of Hsiao Chang Ti, where a concourse of scholars met at the instigation of the Emperor in order to expound their views on various *cruces* in the Classical Canon. This was done in order to counter the wave of heterodoxy which, in the reign of that Emperor, reached its peak. Pan Ku was given the task of editing the materials issuing from the various discussions and this book, in 44 sections, each dealing with one aspect of the classical tradition, is the result.

We must forgo any but the slightest mention of the numerous body of works on various branches of science, e.g., Astronomy, Mathematics, Botany, Zoology, etc. Then there are voluminous and numerous treatises on the art of divination, carried out by all manner of means from the cracking of tortoise-

shell by the application of a red hot needle (to see what outline or Chinese character may be read from the cracks), to the use of the stalks of the milfoil and the forecasting of the future from a character traced in a tray of sand by a swinging pencil.

Then there are the numerous works on the various arts of the Chinese : a division known in Chinese literature as *I Shu*. In this division are to be found works, some of great antiquity, on painting, music, penmanship, engraving, archery and dancing. There are even separate works dealing with the minutiae of some subdivisions of a particular art ; we will not, for example, try to count the number of works we have seen devoted simply to a description of different methods of painting bamboos.

Ancient seals have many treatises devoted to them. There are books on making and using Chinese ink and one small work (of which an English translation exists) on inkstones. This was written by Mi Fu (Mi Fei), who lived from A.D. 1051 to 1107. He is best known in the West as an artist and the little work, which has been translated by Dr. van Gulik under the title " Mi Fu on Ink-stones " (Peking, 1938), is another example of the Chinese predilection for making exhaustive inquiries into odd corners of antiquarian research. The book also contains a brief dissertation on the correct reading of the name of the author. Although he has been known to Western students of Chinese art for centuries as Mi Fei, the author adduces Chinese testimony to the correctness of the reading " Fu " for the second name.

There are numerous so-called " Repertories of Science " with whose contents and qualities we have no space to deal. Most of them are, and for many years will be, accessible only to the reader of Chinese.

The student will find, as he makes his way through the vast mass of Chinese literature, many anthologies of elegant extracts, poetry and prose, from all periods of history. The Chinese have been particularly good at this type of production and the foreign student, appalled at the sheer bulk of material facing him in any given period of Chinese history, has cause to be grateful to the compilers of these select anthologies which, with unerring taste, pick out the high lights of a literary period and so save the reader much time.

Nor must we forget the class of work known as *Lei Shu* or Encyclopaedias. These also embrace the whole field of literature and form valuable signposts to the student. But there exist no English translations of such works so they remain of use only to the reader of the original scripts.

There are numerous collections of short stories, legends, folk-lore, tales and the like which have caught the attention of foreign readers. Such are *Lieh hsien chuan* and *Po Wu Chih* of the third century A.D. ; the *Shen Hsien Chuan* and the *Sou Shên Chi* of the fourth. But the leader of them all is a work known as *Liao Chai Chih I* of the seventeenth century. This has been admired by all competent scholars for its superb antique style. The author collected stories wherever he could find them and then set them down in a form which compels admiration. Many passages are difficult to understand without the commentary for the author's range of knowledge was extraordinarily wide, and he drew parallels and illustrations from writers and poets of all ages. The general reader can find a good proportion of these stories translated in " Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio," by the late Professor H. A. Giles.

From the short story to the full-length novel is but a step in the case of Chinese authors. A novel whose theme never palls is *San Kuo Chih Yen I*, an historical novel in 120 chapters by Lo Kuan-chung. The bases of the novel are the historical events of the period of the decadence and imminent fall of the House of Han. This semi-fictional, semi-historical story covers the years A.D. 168-265 and is conceived and executed on the grand scale with a wealth of detail which, in any other hands would have prepared pitfalls the author would have found it difficult to avoid. This work has been translated into English by Brewitt-Taylor.

Chin Ping Mei is another long novel, reminiscent in many places of the *Satyricon* of Petronius. Apart altogether from its qualities of character-drawing, this novel is of the utmost importance for the picture it gives of contemporary Chinese life. An English translation by Clement Egerton, in four large volumes has recently been published under the title of "The Golden Lotus."

Shui Hu Chuan in 70 chapters is what modern jargon would call a sociological novel. It shows the process of revolt on the part of scholars, gentlemen and others from the existing state of affairs and their determination to change things. They become brigands of the Robin Hood type and go on from strength to strength until they achieve their just aims. Pearl S. Buck has translated this book under the title "All Men Are Brothers." These three novels, with the *Hsi Yu Chi* mentioned above under Buddhism form the *Ssu Ta Ch'i Shu*, the Four Wonderful Works.

Hung Lou Meng, commonly known to Westerners under the title "The Dream of the Red Chamber" runs to 120 chapters and has a cast of characters so numerous that few but Chinese can remember them all. A partial translation of this novel, by Tsao Hsüeh-chin and Kao Ngoh, is still available to English readers.

Of plays we shall mention only one and that because the English reader has his choice of two translations. *Hsi Hsiang Chi*, or "The Western Pavilion" is a play built round a story by Yuan Chên of the T'ang Dynasty. S. I. Hsiung is responsible for one English translation and Henry H. Hart for the other.

CONCLUSION

As we reach the end of our task we do not need to be told of the many works which, in one way or another, qualify as classics and yet have found no mention in our little book. We can only plead that there is no more room, though it might very well be pointed out that in the case of China it is peculiarly difficult to discover where classics end and plain literature begins. It is as well to remember that we are here dealing with an uninterrupted line of writings spread over four thousand years, and that any distinction runs the risk of being dubbed invidious. We have tried to indicate those works which, in Chinese esteem, have earned the right to be considered classical. Even our own academicians do not agree among themselves as to where the true classical tradition ends.

We would have cited many other works, if only from a sense of personal gratitude and affection. We have even left out our lifelong companion, *P'ei*

Wên Yün Fu, surely the world's classic of classical dictionaries ? We have not even mentioned those collections of classics, the *Ts'ung Shu*, which have made learning and the enjoyment of literature possible and cheap for generations of Chinese readers. Whenever we left our manuscript for an hour or so, names of omissions would jostle each other in our memory ; at night we dreamed of other worthy writings left out. We have had to cut half the original typescript as it is. Yet we feel that perhaps the reader has not been given an altogether narrow view of "The Chinese Classics."

Section VIII

ART

FOREWORD

To give the history of Chinese Art in some 25,000 words is a task which calls not only for a thorough knowledge of the subject, but great power of discrimination. Dr. Wymant has, in my opinion, demonstrated both these qualities in this outline. Chinese Art, I am sure, has not suffered through this effort, but has found an exponent to present its essential features to those who wish to be led through its long and continuous growth. This series of informative pamphlets will be greatly enriched by the presentation of this number.

GEORGE K. C. YEH.

Chinese M.O.I., London.

July, 1946.

Section VIII

ART

INTRODUCTION



THE BEGINNINGS OF CHINESE ART, AS IS THE CASE WITH THOSE OF ALL OTHER OF China's cultural activities, are lost in the mists of antiquity. At present, all we can safely say about the earliest stages of Chinese art development is that it must have been in preparation for many centuries before the first examples of which the ancient records speak had come to light. One can say also that the earliest Chinese art was enriched from the abundant field of mythology.

It is now well known that in China, as elsewhere, the first form of religion was a type of Animism. In this nature religion, trees, hills, rivers and other aspects of the landscape were given their appropriate spirits and, in course of time, as the art of writing developed, the need for pictorial representation of these spirits was felt. This close association between early religious belief and early art forms is not, of course, confined to China. Another parallel between the art of East and West is to be found between the rock paintings of the Bushmen of South Africa and of prehistoric man in France, where animals of the chase are depicted with astonishing vigour. Hunting scenes and animal outlines are among the earliest art forms in China also. Chinese cloud patterns have for centuries formed a type of decoration which, through long periods of time, become conventionalised into the so-called Cloud and Thunder Pattern motif on early bronzes.

It is difficult to estimate the period required for the development of art forms to the point reached by the artists who decorated the early pots found at Anyang in North China some years ago. Here again one must remark on the persistent continuity of tradition. Although the earliest art forms to come down to our day from ancient China are about five thousand years old, no change in the essential features of such forms was discernible until about the middle of the Han period, that is, at the beginning of the Christian era. Thus, although the designs on the Anyang pottery vessels were painted on the clay with due regard to the shape of the vessel, the basic outlines were found later on bronze vessels and other artefacts. The Chinese have always been keen nature-lovers, and many of their primitive designs represent graphic illustrations of streams, clouds, trees and birds. This also explains the special position occupied in Chinese esteem by the ideographic script. All through the ages the Chinese script has been considered as decorative as any picture, and well-written scrolls usurp the place of pictures in a Chinese house at certain periods of the year. It is not surprising to find many parallels between the decorative border patterns of the ancient Greeks and those of early China, for they are both conventionalised nature motifs. There is a close bond between Chinese art and Chinese philosophy, for it was in an attempt to interpret early Chinese graphic

representations of nature in the words of daily speech that the philosophers first enunciated their theories of life—its essence and problems. As the art forms of the different dynasties are discussed in the following pages, we shall more than once have to recall to the reader's mind this continuity of tradition which makes a unity of all the varied artistic expressions of the Chinese genius.

I. THE BEGINNINGS

According to Chinese legend, the Emperor Fu Hsi, who lived, according to tradition, almost 3,000 B.C., invented instruments on which music could be played, nets for fishing and for trapping birds, and, above all, the system of trigrams in which many see the origin of writing. Thus, three unbroken lines, like this  represent Heaven, Male, Strong and Light, while three broken lines, like this  represent Earth, Female, Weak and Dark. These simple outlines can be traced in many of the earliest simple decorative patterns. The nets, which were a very important invention from the point of view of a predominantly agricultural community, are often found on very early pottery as a form of decoration. This criss-cross network pattern is particularly common on the early grey pottery tripods. Some centuries later came the Yellow Emperor, to whom is attributed the discovery of copper and the invention of bronze vessels and weapons. His Empress is credited with the invention of silk and the technique of silkworm-rearing. This shows itself in the so-called cocoon pattern of some early Chinese motifs. The discovery of bronze gave a new impetus to Chinese art. It was a gracious and malleable substance and provided a genial surface upon which the artist could work. Unfortunately, archæology is still in its infancy in China, as the age-long veneration for the homes of the dead has prevented the opening up of sites of known historical importance. Now, however, Chinese archæologists, fully aware of the importance of such verification of the historical records as this science can provide, are engaged in recovering from the soil of China treasures long since buried. For example, one of the earliest decorative emblems on early food vessels and ritual objects recovered from the soil is the *t'ao t'ieh*. This is (a) supposed to be the name of a greedy official banished by the Emperor Shun; (b) a fierce animal having a head but no body, signifying avarice and gluttony; and (c) a fabulous tribe of men who were fierce savages caring only for food and drink. This animal-head shows remarkable vigour and striking life. It was intended to remind the user of the vessel of the debasing influences of avarice, gluttony, rapacity and greed. This motif, among many others, has had a continuous life of at least 3,500 years, and we have even seen modern representations of it in products of the present-day potter's skill.

It is now quite clear that the Chinese script was, in its beginnings, a picture-writing and as such it deserves a prominent place in any history of Chinese art, for in many designs throughout the bronze and later ages Chinese characters were, so to say, woven into a conventional design, even as at a later date they were woven into the texture of an embroidery. The soil of China has given up bones of prehistoric animals, on the flat areas of which bones written symbols had been scratched to form a record of some omen or even of some family transaction, such as the transfer of a plot of land.

Some of the excavated sites in North China, notably in Honan, have yielded potsherds from rubbish heaps, which indicate either the site of a neolithic city or an early potter's kiln. Many of these broken shards are the only relics we have of these distant times, but the remnants show us plainly enough not merely that the people of this time had an artistic sense but also the method employed in decorating the pots. In some cases it is quite clear that a long-vanished finger-nail had etched a design on a simple bowl or jar intended for domestic use. In other cases the implements were more elaborate, but the design was still very simple. We can learn many things from these early experiments, notably that neolithic man in China had already domesticated the dog, the elephant, the pig and many other animals.

There is a big gap, extending over some fifteen centuries, during which great natural disasters altered the Chinese scene. Fertile districts became barren wastes as the Yellow River changed its course and drove the population to seek its living along the banks of the new bed. Successive inundations have not merely shifted the scene of activity, but have also buried the traces of previous civilisations under many, many layers of silt. It will be a long time before the archaeologists now at work can uncover the sites whose contents can fill this gap in our present knowledge.

II

The most striking quality in early Chinese art-forms is the sense of shape displayed in even the meanest domestic utensils. Decoration has always played a minor part; the prime essential, it would appear, was that the finished article should have a permanently satisfying shape. This remained true throughout, whatever material was used.

When decoration first appeared it was of a very simple kind. Almost all design was stylised from Nature, so that we got very early pottery vessels showing elephants, deer and other animals, silkworms, cicadas and other insects. The dragon became conventionalised at a very early date, and what at first sight seem to be varieties of a key-fret pattern are found, on close inspection, to be dragons coiled upon themselves in a band round the vessel.* Early bronzes still have much to tell us of the development of ancient art forms and technique.

The great strength of animal models, in bronze, in jade and other stones, which have come down to our times, points to a long association between man and his subject. The growing national consciousness of the Chinese, as they spread over ever wider territory and neared the opening of the Chou dynasty, was reflected in their confident use of metals and hard stones. The geometric exactness and lifelessness of the stylised Shang-Yin decoration gave way to economy of effort which yet was instinct with life and movement. Some of the small animals, indeed, cut with a very few strokes, seem as if resting for a moment before they walk away, their muscles braced for the effort.

The strong sense of tradition which dominates Chinese cultural achievement is, in part, the explanation of the continuity of form and outline. But the Chinese are not merely naturally artistic, they are intensely practical, and nothing would persist for long unless it fulfilled this dual purpose in Chinese eyes. It must be remembered that most of the relics of the past which have

* See Fig. 1.

come into our hands were either vessels for everyday domestic use or ritual vessels, which were never purely decorative but had ceremonial uses.

The predominance of bronze vessels must be explained as due largely to the durability of the metal. It became "fashionable" in early Chou times, and at a comparatively early date it became the custom to use bronze vessels as media for records and inscriptions of importance. Frequently the outside carried a simple decorative motif, while the inscription was preserved on the inside of the vessel. So far as the inscriptions deal with events recorded in the histories, we have valuable confirmatory or supplementary evidence. Slowly a trustworthy picture of this early period and its practices is emerging. We find fertility symbols in bronze and jade, small carved jade weights to keep closed the eyes of the dead, and carved jade cicadas (symbols of immortality) put into the mouth of the corpse to keep down his tongue. Many examples of early jade have come down to us, showing that it was as highly prized in antiquity as it has been through all the years down to our own time.

Another interesting survival is the *ming-ch'i*, or model. This was a model of a living person or animal, intended to accompany the spirit of the deceased to his "home" (the Chinese use the word *Kuei*, meaning a "returning (home)", as a synonym for death). In place of the early immolation of the deceased's wife or other relative, the burial of a model in hardstone or pottery, sometimes even in straw, became customary.

We can, therefore, but speculate as to what other art treasures of Ancient China are now lost to us. Paintings, we know, existed in early times, for Confucius and others of his period are reported to have commented critically on mural paintings known to them. But, in view of the fact that wall-surfaces are little more durable than other substances used by the artist, we have only such written records as still exist to help us form any idea as to what such early paintings were. The written language does, in some measure, help us here, for early "seal" characters for certain types of products of the furnace or the kiln show us the outline of the vessel, animal or human figure represented. We lack, so far, analogies to the papyrus finds in Ancient Egypt.

Early Chinese art presents also a rounding-out of Chinese Cosmology and general world conception. The *Yin-Yang* symbol,* representing the fusion of the male and female principles in Nature, was an early emblem for unity and completeness. Its decorative value may be seen in its persistence throughout all periods of Far Eastern art, especially in Japan, where it is called *tomoe* and not only appears as the *mon* or crest of an old noble house, but also in the form of *ya-jirushi*, or trade symbol for the highest quality of many types of goods. With the development of Western industrialism in the Far East, many early symbols, originally reserved for ritual or ceremonial use, have become commonplace trade marks of everyday merchandise. It is illuminating for the scholar to observe on a cheap modern dish on sale in Peiping a trade mark which first caught his eye on a broken shard from some ancient kitchen on the Anyang site.

III

Not many Europeans can afford to possess themselves of the elegant massive bronzes of the pre-Chou and Chou periods. The larger ones are not only costly; they need space in order that they may be properly observed. A museum is the only reasonable place for such pieces.

* See Fig. 2.

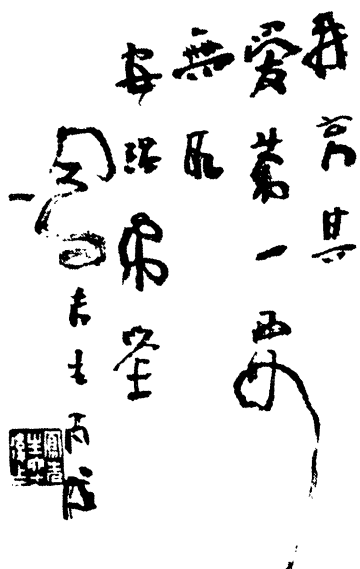


THE SCHOLAR TRADITION IN ART.

(Photo by Hedda Morrison.)



A MODERN ART SCHOOL — THE LIFE CLASS.



"MEDITATING PRIEST," BY LU FENG TZU. CREATIVE ART
IN THE CLASSICAL TRADITION.

(By courtesy of Chang An-chih)



"LANDSCAPE," BY SUM. THE YOUNGER GENERATION.

But one department of Chinese bronze activity is accessible to all. The exquisite mirrors which, from the Chou dynasty onwards, carry a wealth of material for a reconstruction of the cultural life of the period, are less costly and of comparatively small bulk, so that one room can hold a fully representative collection. The varied sizes of the round mirrors range from a diameter of 2½ in. to 10 in. One side is highly polished to give a well-defined reflection, and the back usually has a raised boss in the centre, pierced for the passage of a silken cord to serve as a handle. Around this centre are several bands of decoration, of which one is, frequently, an inscription in some decorative form of Chinese script. These inscriptions sometimes refer to the excellence of the bronze or the workmanship, sometimes to the craftsman responsible for the work, but often take the form of moral maxims, of which the following is an example :-

“ Like the sun, like the moon, like water and like jade.
Be thou clear and bright and reflect what is in thy heart.”

We have seen this in many forms of script on varied types of mirrors ranging over a period of some five centuries. Thus are illustrated two dominant features of Chinese cultural life --the predominant moral interest in the proper conduct of a man, and the realisation that in the written character the people have not only a thing of beauty but a worthy vehicle of the best thoughts of men of all time. The quality of sincerity so highly prized by the Chinese is irrevocably associated with mirrors ; some ancient writers have said that if a deceitful man looks into a good mirror it will cloud over. In other words, an insincere man will get from a mirror the same insincerity he exhibits in his own conduct. Further, in early days, mirrors were believed to have magical properties. They were thought to be an actual source of light in themselves. The lore of mirrors is a comprehensive subject, and much still remains to be done before these beautiful examples of the bronze-worker's art can be made to yield up all their secrets. There are also square, hexagonal and octagonal mirrors to be found, but the commonest form is round.

The decoration of mirrors alone will supply a complete cosmology if but a few dozen specimens are judiciously assembled. There are mirrors on which the zodiacal animals appear, others which show the constellations in their orderly seasonal progression. Some have the Taoist Paradise, figured with the Eight Immortals ; others represent Buddhist scenes. There are purely diagrammatic mirrors showing the evolution of a complete cosmogony from the prime mover, the Original One, and its development into the Duality, and so on through the Eight Trigrams to the Sixty-Four Diagrams (see *Classics, I Ching*). Then there are the “ landscape mirrors ”, which represent some well-known beauty spot or some famous historical scene. There are “ inlaid mirrors ”, where silver and gold wire are inlaid to emphasise some part of the scene. There are mirrors made entirely of silver, as well as those made of bronze and then covered with a silver coating. Others, again, are made of fine bronze, with certain parts of the decoration picked out or emphasised by inlaid turquoise, coral and other highly prized stones.

An accidental, but beautiful, additional attraction in the old bronze mirrors is the patina, a blue-green incrustation resulting from long exposure to soil or damp during the centuries of the mirror's existence. Many have been recovered from the soil, others from ruins of old buildings, where they had some protection from weathering, and yet others from well-preserved private collections.

IV. "THE GLORIOUS HAN"

The Han dynasty was a period of great flourishing in most of the arts. In this period came "the recovery of the ancient records", a movement designed to restore the losses sustained under the edict of Shih Huang Ti, of the immediately preceding Ch'in Dynasty. With Imperial patronage of literature and the arts generally there developed new techniques in almost all branches of Chinese artistic activity.

We know, from various authorities, that by the Han dynasty China was an important silk-exporting country. She is so mentioned in various national histories, and one of the earliest Western records, that of Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, 1st century A.D.), discusses the products of the *Seres*, or Chinese, the literal meaning of the name being "silk-makers". We know that Roman women dressed in fine Chinese silks, which had made the long journey from further Asia to Rome by the old silk-road from north-west China, which is still being used. *Serica*, as the Latin name for China, thus preserves for us an historical fact of early times.

Some decorated silks have been recovered from the soil of Turkestan in the course of archaeological excavations by Sir Aurel Stein. Some of these silks were woven twenty-two centuries ago, and only the nature of the soil has preserved them so long—fragmentary as the remains now are. Such decoration as is still visible shows strong kinship with the bronze motifs; the galloping horse and rider, dragons and other mythological beasts, as well as conventionalised patterns.

It must be clearly understood that it is not merely by the power of tradition that these designs persisted through such long periods of time. Everything in Chinese art has its symbolism and a definite meaning, though these may not be apparent at a glance. The rebus, or puzzle picture, is a rough parallel. Frequently, if the components of a design are named, a propitious wish will be found to lie buried in the composition. But even where this is not the case, ritual uses and ceremonial observances can be discerned in the style and type of decoration; this then became the traditional decoration for such vessels throughout later generations.

Naturally enough silk remains from such early times are scanty. Silk, like paper, stands use and exposure very well for a comparatively short time (even up to several centuries) and then, if not specially preserved in favourable conditions both disintegrate and disappear.

Lacquer also will stand the passing of time well enough if conditions are favourable. Lacquer vases and plaques of Han dynasty manufacture have survived to our day and may be seen in various museums and private collections. Some of these are quite plain though it is not clear whether they once had surface decoration which has disappeared. Others still have decoration of a high order of execution and restraint. But for details of this branch of art and for that of mural painting, which reached a very high level in the Han dynasty, we have to rely mainly on contemporary and near-contemporary writings. Bas-reliefs in stone do, indeed, reproduce some of the mural artist's best efforts, but they are, at the best, copies. There were representations of the Emperor's

horses, as well as of famous men of earlier times. We are told that Ming Ti ordered the painting of portraits of Confucius and his companions, as well as those of some of his favourite ministers. Carved bricks and plaques from the early centuries of our era remain as our sole visual material for judging the products of Han dynasty painters.

From some of these bricks, too, we get our idea of early architecture. Owing to the continued preference for wood, no early buildings have survived, though their glory and magnificence in their heyday called forth spirited poems and vigorous prose descriptions, which still form part of China's literary heritage.

Sculpture also appears in the Later Han period. It became, at the same time, associated with the tombs of Emperors. The earliest survival is that of horse-figures guarding the tomb of a general (2nd century B.C.), and one of the latest is the group of animals guarding the tombs of the Ming Emperors, to be seen outside Nanking to this day. Sculpture early became associated with Buddhism, and some of the finest specimens preserved in our museums date from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. Inscriptions on some of them indicate that they were executed by such and such an artist at the order of so-and-so for the glory of Buddha, either to mark the restoration to health of a member of the family, or in earnest prayer that the spirit of a departed one may find peace and happiness in the world to which it has gone.

During the Han dynasty great progress was made in exploration westward from China. The great journey of Chang Ch'ien, described so graphically by Ssu-ma Ch'ien in Chapter 123 of his great history, did not, indeed, succeed in its main purpose (that of gaining Scythian alliance with China against their traditional foes, the Huns), but it did open up still further ways of communication with little-known lands. Chang Ch'ien brought back the grape (which was shortly to appear as a new motif in Chinese art) and the "Arab Horse" from Hellenized Bactria, and from this time forward the influence of this journey becomes increasingly evident in the decorative motifs employed.

This is but one of many important documents, bearing on the development of Chinese art motifs, to descend to us from Han times. The various aspects of Chinese artistic expression have always tended to hold parallel lines of development, though here and there one form would mix with another as a related art-form. Thus numerous experiments were made in order to reproduce a particular design in a new medium, and, as time went on, some quite astonishing results were achieved. There was, for example, the attempt to reproduce in jade or other hardstone, the vigour and life of the cast bronze animal figurines (often divided down the centre into two equal parts as "tallies") by means of sculpture, and some of the jade horses of the Han period show as fine a technique of movement and pose as can be found in any period elsewhere. Writers have observed a "Greek influence", indeed, at a period when no such influence could conceivably have reached China; they have also found parallels with other national art-expressions where the resemblance must have been fortuitous. It may well be that, in spite of the distinctive nature of the primary basis of Chinese art, its development through the centuries has followed the same lines as that taken by Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek art. The intervals between developing phases would seem to suggest such natural stage-by-stage parallel development.

V

With the beginning of the Eastern Han dynasty (A.D. 25) a new medium was available for the artist—paper. The nature of this new material exercised a profound and lasting effect on Chinese graphic art. Being unglazed, the paper was highly absorbent, and a stroke, once set down on the receptive surface, was there for ever. Erasure or correction by overpainting, etc., was impossible, and this led to the development of what can reasonably only be described as an "instantaneous technique", wherein the artist pondered well his proposed subject, completely built it up in his mind or imagination, and only then transferred it to the paper. This is the technique followed in writing the Chinese script, where bold, dashing outlines bear witness to a vigorous spirit expressing itself in its full vitality. The restraint so noticeable in the best Chinese pictures and written scrolls gives more than a hint of a natural vitality held in check by that normal tension clearly observable in the world of phenomena.

With the growing use of paper and the development of differing grades of the new discovery there came a steady growth of all artistic expression. Songs, which had hitherto been handed down orally, were now recorded, together with the musical notation. Chinese music governed much of the ancient ceremonial as it, in its turn, was controlled by ritual practice. In the time of Confucius there was still a Classic of Music (*Yüeh Ching*), and in more than one place in his collected sayings, Confucius refers to the great power of music, for good or ill, according to its nature. There was licentious, sensuous music, which must be forsworn, just as there was music which would serve only to stimulate the highest in man. This close bond between music and ceremonial is all of a piece with the ties which bind music, ritual, writing, painting, the plastic and all other arts into one harmonious whole.

Not only was there a growth, a developing: there were some profound changes. Hitherto, writing had been effected with a hard-pointed instrument, at least down to the third century B.C. Now, a soft brush, made of camel hairs, trimmed to a fine point, gave a flexibility of outline which the old script lacked. Characters now took on a flowing quality, sharing more closely that air of the sweeping line of a garment taken by the wind. So with design there came a new grace, a softer outline with bolder internal sweeps of the brush. Thus, even as learning to write the characters was a lesson in "composition", so, in the drawing of a picture, a Chinese more or less unconsciously had the composition in his head from the moment the intention to draw dawned upon him. Both calligraphy and painting predicate complete mastery of the brush and the possession of the ultimate "art of the line".

This fact of line-mastery explains the scarcity of colour in Chinese art. It has been said above that design was secondary to shape in the case of early pottery vessels; in painting, colour has always been secondary to mastery of line. If colours are used, they are washes only, pastel shades used to emphasise some feature of the picture or to detract from emphasis elsewhere in the outline. Such line-mastery developed its own technique of representation of the various dimensions. Without recounting the numerous discussions of recent years as to whether Chinese art has perspective and Western art lacks it, instead of, as has been tacitly assumed for decades, things being the other way round, we would suggest to the reader that he compare for himself paintings by acknowledged masters of different periods with those by Western artists where space,

action, depth and volume are all incontestably expressed. There is little but academic profit in an abstract discussion of the point ; the pictures themselves are the final test and proof.

The close analogy in the Chinese eye between calligraphy and painting led to the identity of the two media in the mind of the artist. As the poet wrote his verses to convey his emotions to others, and the philosopher wrote his essays to set forth his views on nature and life and their manifold problems, so the artist painted or drew his pictures, not merely to produce a thing of beauty, but to convey ideas which he could not otherwise " put over ". The symbolism of a Chinese painting does not always lie on the surface—such works can be " lived with " for long periods before the full satisfaction intended by the artist can be felt. From this fact arises the Chinese practice of changing the pictures displayed in their homes to accord with the various seasons. As with poetry, so with painting ; there are poets of spring who rarely knew an autumn day (to judge from their works), while other poets breathe through all their work the languorous scented breeze of summer. There are also painters whose mood is an evergreen spring, untouched by summer's heat or autumn's chill.

VI

The Han dynasty not only showed forth the use of new media through traditional motifs ; it developed novelties of its own devising. Alongside the hill-jars depicting P'êng Lai, the Isles of the Blest, and the pottery reproductions of ritual vessels formerly to be found only in bronze, were delightful models of dogs and other animals in glazed earthenware as well as models of home-steads, ovens, wellheads, courtyards, farmyards complete with animals, and so on. These, intended for burial with the dead, give a very clear picture of Chinese community life about two thousand years ago. This period is particularly rich in literary records also, so that the finds of the archæologist may frequently be related with the records of the scholar. The writers of the period do, indeed, claim that porcelain was invented during this dynasty, and the Chinese word for it, *tz'u*, appears in literature for the first time. Definition of porcelain differs as between East and West, but although Western authorities are, so far, reluctant to admit that the production of true porcelain in the Han dynasty has been proved, they do concede that porcellaneous ware dating from the second century A.D. tends to give some colour to Chinese claims.

As is the case with the literary heritage, so with the remains of artistic activity. More has been lost than has come down to us. Indeed, it is remarkable that so much has survived, when all the cataclysms, natural and man-made, are taken into account. We have enough, in most directions, not only to make us wish for more, but to enable us to build up a fairly complete picture of some periods and a reasonably accurate outline of most eras.

By the Han period, then, art had come to its full flower in many of its divisions. Music, ritual, the dance and, there is reason to believe, the mime and other dramatic forms were well on the way to their supreme achievement. Pottery had made notable strides forward and painting had reached a new high level, whence all trace of primitiveness had vanished. By this time mastery over the brush was complete, and the paintings of the period show a complete and effortless command of the media which is breath-taking. The dead hand of autocratic Ch'in had been swept away, and the product of Han kilns and

brushes mirrored the upsurging of that new life and vigour which had been too long suppressed. Even sculpture, which had been for so long dominated by the heaviness of its material, developed an illusion of a moving line, a rippling muscle, so that one can almost believe the stories of the time in which, we are told, a sculptured dragon on a temple wall took flight, disappeared into the heavens and was seen no more.

But apart altogether from their extreme value in determining the sort of life lived in those distant days, these relics of the artistic life of the Hans are of supreme æsthetic importance. Man has been steadily becoming more and more materialist as his conquest of natural forces gave him greater and greater power. In many an age man has created his Frankenstein, but never on so great a scale as has now been achieved. The most ferocious bogeys of the superstitious past tremble, themselves, in face of that monster Materialism which is about to turn and rend its maker and apologist. The inner spirit which shines through the carven or painted line is one of the most potent counterblasts to the materialism which is set on devouring civilisation.

The artists who made these things of beauty may never have imagined that our eyes would look upon them. For them the expression of an emotion or an idea was all that mattered. The intensity of feeling did the rest, and posterity received an undying work of art. These artists saw through the fabric of material things. They saw reality behind the mask and cast the outer shell away. Those whose pleasant duty it is to handle and describe these products of olden time are frequently conscious of a subtle power in these pieces, difficult to define or explain. This surely is a survival of that undying spirit which informed the artist at the moment of his achievement. This it is which makes a mockery of our "triumphant" materialism.

VII. THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM

About the third century A.D. there came into Chinese art a new and powerful influence—that of Buddhism. The new religion was somewhat slow in making itself felt, although here and there were isolated figures who were deeply interested and who made astonishing efforts to gain full knowledge of it. But when Buddhism did enter into Chinese art, it began by almost dominating some forms of it, particularly sculpture and mural painting.

There is no doubt that we owe much of the sculpture which has come down to us to the religious element in Buddhism, which promised, to the believer, relief from many worldly cares and, at the end of life, a peaceful transition to a future state. Thus arose a practice of commissioning a stone carving of Buddhist figures on a small block or large stone "brick", on the base of which an inscription was cut detailing the occasion, the name of the donor, the year, month and day on which the work was carried out and, sometimes, the name of the artist. The finished carving was then presented to a Buddhist temple and was set in its walls. As temples fell into decay, connoisseurs retrieved these graceful carvings and brought them to Europe.

We have examined scores of such carvings in a great variety of stones, from jade to limestone. They usually date from the fourth to the sixth century A.D., when Buddhist influence on Chinese sculpture was particularly strong. We have read inscriptions which expressed "thanks to the Lord Buddha for effecting the recovery of our dear brother from a serious disease," "for consolation in

the loss of our beloved mother," "for the preservation of our revered father amid the dangers of a long journey," and so on.

At this time, too, began the formation of a special Buddhist terminology in Chinese, so that, by a careful analysis of the inscriptions and their phrasing, confirmatory evidence as to age may be secured. This process, however, was comparatively slow, and it was many centuries before a fully developed technical vocabulary was available. The delineation of Buddhist scenes in stone carvings and mural paintings, on the other hand, passed very quickly through the Indian phase into one more typically Chinese. The original models were, of course, those brought from India by devotees, Chinese and Indian, but very soon a Chinese air pervaded all the products of the sculptor's art.

Architecture, too, was affected, particularly in minor modifications of traditional Chinese structures in accord with Buddhist temples in India. The effect here is not so noticeable. There is more colour and, here and there, a generous use of gold-leaf in interior and exterior decoration, but little of permanent alteration of Chinese outline is to be observed. In some areas, indeed, it is difficult to distinguish, without close examination, between a Buddhist and a Confucian edifice. Yet it is true to say that in some parts of China, typically Indian Buddhist structures are still to be seen.

But the chief effect of the growth of the new religion was on the mural decoration of the *insides* of temples. Here, ambitious pictures were spread over whole walls and gold-leaf covered life-size figures of Buddha and the Lohan Sanskrit *Arhat* or attendants on the person of Buddha (his principal lieutenants), stood by the altar, which was decorated with rich embroideries and gold-thread hangings.

During the centuries immediately following the Han dynasty the country was again divided between north and south; the Toba Tartars occupying the north and the south being purely Chinese. These Tartars were rough and ready in their methods, but they did establish order in the area under their control. Moreover, they proved astonishingly receptive to Buddhism. This influx of alien blood renewed the Chinese people physically and enabled their characteristic power of absorption of foreign ideas to function to the full. Thus, while busy in the physical digestion of the northern invaders, the Chinese were intellectually adapting the new belief and its artistic manifestations to their own standards.

So, although for the earlier periods we have to rely primarily on the written records of contemporary observers (which are themselves frequently imperfect or corrupt), for the centuries from the end of Han to the beginning of T'ang, we have not only more abundant literary material, but also much more of the actual production of the period. Our museums, not to mention private collections, will supply the student with much and varied material.

For the stay-at-home, who cannot hope to see for himself the mural paintings and carvings of the numerous caves of China, the works of Sir Aurel Stein and Professor Paul Pelliot (v. Bibliography) will give an excellent idea of the extent and style of these productions.

Meanwhile, the Chinese in the south, almost unaffected by the irruption of the northern barbarians, went on in the old Chinese tradition. From this area and period come the oldest paintings known to us in the West, those of Ku K'ai-chih. Although the attribution of certain paintings to him has been questioned, it may be asserted that we have, in all probability, some of his

work in "The Admonitions of the Instructress" in the British Museum. Ku's use of natural scenery as a background to the main subject of his pictures may indicate that landscape painting was known, if not common, in his day. There is nothing surprising in this if, indeed, it should be so, for the Chinese has, throughout history, been a profound lover of nature. The essential for an outstanding artist is, as one Chinese work says, that the painter should not merely love nature but be one with her. "Then his painting will move ten thousand generations of men."

Other artists of this period (third to fifth centuries) painted animals and plant-life so realistically that writers of the time tell of "tigers slowly stalking out of the picture" and "bamboos so delicately poised that the breath of the viewer causes them to sway". The writers of tales of imagination made great play with a story told of one artist who painted so perfect a dragon that, as soon as he had equipped it with eyes, it left the wall and soared aloft to join its fellows in the clouds!

VIII. "THE GOLDEN AGE OF T'ANG"

With a twelve hundred years' advance over the West in landscape painting, the Chinese were still developing the technique which has ever since been particularly characteristic of their graphic art. This is the union of script and design in the one picture, in what can only be described as a kind of mystic bond. Of course, the Chinese script, being original and basically pictorial, made such a union seem logical to the Chinese from more than one point of view. None the less, careful observation will show that to the Chinese eye the balance of a picture demands that certain types of painting should have as a necessary accompaniment a poem, a brief essay in prose, or an allegorical title in such a position as not to interfere with the composition of the work, but still to be an essential part of it.

In addition to this, we must notice that in the transition periods, and notably in the sixth century, there was a growing conventionalisation of incidentals--for example, the flowing line for the delineation of robes--as also to hint at the outline of a covered figure, for some types of vegetation, flowering trees, etc. So we note a steady progress in painting, leading up to the pre-eminent brilliance of T'ang. In this dynasty (7th to 10th century) *all* the arts flourished as never before: poetry, music, and drama all reached a height hitherto not conceived. The last-named, in fact, came, for the first time, under Imperial patronage, and resulted in the founding of the Pear Tree Garden Academy, where actors and actresses were trained in the dramatic and allied arts. This was, of course, principally for the delight of the Emperor, but so successful was this dramatic academy that it became the forerunner of many others, and to this very day actors are proud to refer to themselves as "graduates of the Pear Tree Garden".

The far-famed luxuriance of the T'ang dynasty has rather overshadowed the grimmer side of the revolts and rebellions which brought so much ruin and general desolation to the period. But certainly in Court circles the arts received such encouragement as they had never hitherto known. If we are to trust the writers of time, the robes of the Court and even of the ordinary people resident in the capital were of a magnificence, both of material and design, never before achieved. This was largely due not merely to the exuberance of triumphant artistic sense, nor even to the comparative prosperity of the early years of the T'ang dynasty; it is to be traced in no small measure to the transfer of Imperial

patronage from Buddhism, with its repose, philosophy, and somewhat sombre hues, to the vigour, bright colours, and imagination of Taoism. More than one T'ang emperor openly embraced the Taoist faith, and one or two are said to have lost their lives in swallowing the so-called "elixir of immortality". Those who survived, however, nothing daunted, did see in the more colourful and less restrictive philosophic system a better chance for the indulgence of their artistic predilections. One emperor, more stoical than the rest, decided that luxury and indulgence had gone so far as to constitute a positive danger to the continuance of the dynasty. Whereupon he ordered all the Imperial wardrobes to be emptied of their glorious contents, which were piled in the central courtyard and burned. Many of China's best poets, several of her most outstanding artists, and her most famous sculptor, were of this dynasty. To this day, in commemoration of the outstanding literary and artistic achievements of the Han and T'ang dynasties, the Chinese of the north refer to themselves as "Sons of Han" and those of the south as "Sons of T'ang".

It is in this dynasty, too, that most Western authorities place the discovery and rapid development of "true porcelain", as the term is understood among us. We have referred above to the probable development of a porcellaneous ware in the Han dynasty, and it is probable that through the years between, say, A.D. 200 and the beginning of T'ang, true porcelain, even in the Western sense of the term, was, in fact, discovered, but certainly its use was not widespread until the 7th or 8th century. In this period, however, the Chinese had developed their command over various types of potter's clay to such an extent that Imperial kilns were set up near the capital so that the product of these kilns should be available for Imperial use.

Another aspect of the Chinese genius now makes its appearance. Hitherto books, like paintings, had been in scroll form. In the T'ang dynasty they first began to be sewn and cased. Wood-block printing had been in use for some time before the opening of the dynasty for the reproduction of Buddhist pictures and Buddhist Sutras. Now, it was generally used for the reproduction of standard texts, drawings of all kinds, not merely religious ones, and for the daily publication of the Peking Gazette, the Chinese equivalent of the London Court Circular. In the Chinese exhibition at Burlington House, 1935-36, were shown some painted silks recovered from caves at Tunhuang, which were sealed up in the 8th century to protect them from marauding bands of soldiers and rebels, with thousands of manuscripts, books, and paintings of the period inside. Those interested may still see in the British Museum some of these illustrated manuscripts from the Stein collection.

The exuberance of the T'ang could not from its very intensity last long. It was the flash of genius which soon burnt itself out, and the closing years of this dynasty were grim and grey. There followed a few dynasties filled with the clash of arms and the jockeying for power in which little of any artistic value was accomplished. There were, of course, as always, whatever the nature of the times, those peasant crafts and industries, especially in interior provinces and notably in western China which went their uninterrupted way. Some of these have reached the West, and particularly the Middle East, in the form of pack saddle-bags for use in camel transport, rugs, covers for cushions and saddles, and so on. There was also a certain amount of architectural development due to the infiltration of new ideas from the West. This showed itself particularly in areas where great military destruction had overwhelmed the buildings

IX. THE TRADITIONAL INSTRUCTION

We may now leave the general for a brief consideration of the particular canons which, laid down by Hsieh Ho in the sixth century A.D., formed the basis of all art teaching in China. Although the work of Hsieh Ho is the first formal treatise on the art of painting to come down to us, an examination of such earlier pictures as we possess shows that his principles were not new.

Much ingenuity has been exercised in translating Hsieh Ho's Six Cardinal Principles. It is not that scholars of the language have lacked artistic feeling in making their translation, but the difficulty arises from the extreme conciseness of the Chinese original and the fact that the characters of an ideographic script carry a *nuance* which is frequently insusceptible of rendering in an alphabetic language. To give the reader an idea of how these six principles have appeared in the eyes of five different scholars we give the versions favoured by each :—

I. *H. A. Giles*¹

1. Rhythmic Vitality.
2. Anatomical Structure.
3. Conformity with Nature.
4. Suitability of Colouring.
5. Artistic Composition.
6. Finish.

II. *Friedrich Hirth*²

1. Spiritual Element ; Life's Motion.
2. Skeleton Drawing with the Brush.
3. Correctness of Outlines.
4. Colouring to Correspond with nature of object.
5. Correct division of space
6. Copying Models.

III. *Laurence Binyon*³

1. Spiritual Rhythm expressed in the Movement of Life.
2. The art of rendering the bones or anatomical structure by means of the brush.
3. The drawing of forms which answer to natural forms.
4. Appropriate distribution of the colours.
5. Composition and subordination or grouping to the hierarchy of things.
6. The transmission of classical models.

IV. *Taki Sei-ichi*⁴

1. Spiritual Tone and Life-movement.
2. Manner of brush-work in drawing lines.
3. Form in its relation to the objects.
4. Choice of colour appropriate to the objects.
5. Composition and grouping.
6. The copying of Classic master-pieces.

1. In " Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art " (v.p. 24).

2. In " Scraps from a Collector's Notebook " (v.p. 58).

3. In " The Flight of the Dragon " (v.p. 12).

4. In " Kokka " No. 224.

V. *Petrucci*⁵

1. La consonance de l'esprit engendre le mouvement de la vie.
2. La loi des os au moyen du pinceau.
3. La forme représentée dans la conformité avec les êtres.
4. Selon la similitude (des objets) distribuer la couleur.
5. Disposer les lignes et leur attribuer leur place hiérarchique.
6. Propager les formes en les faisant passer dans le dessin.

While none of these translations can be said to be wholly satisfactory we confess that our own, essayed in the height of enthusiasm in a period of study of Chinese art, struck us, on reflection, as no better. This is another instance of a situation where only the Chinese original can be said to fill the bill !

We can imagine the Western artist saying that these canons are, after all, elementary and universal. True, but the fact that they were recognised as such by the Chinese nearly two thousand years ago may account in some measure for the immediate appeal of Chinese art wherever it is seen. Also, it is obvious to the student of Chinese art that these principles were inherently understood from the beginning, for nowhere do we find evidence of artistic effort which is not informed by the Six Canons.

Chinese artists have never failed to lay stress on the subjective element. "The artist himself is the secret of his art," said Kuo Jo-hsü of the Sung period. The very brush-strokes of one artist reveal his character and nature to any other sympathetic spirit.

Only a very comprehensive work could deal adequately with the numerous excellencies of the T'ang period ; even with the comparatively few examples which have come down to us. We read much of the genius of Wu Tao-tzu, but we have little or nothing which can be said to be really his or even a good copy of what he himself made. We learn that the brilliant abilities of Han Kan attracted the attention of Wang Wei. We do know that Han Kan drew and painted horses as no other had done hitherto, but those horses do not exist for us. Spirits of some of them appear in the delicate shades of some Sung copyists, but, to judge from what the original artist's contemporaries said of the originals, the copies have taken all their colour from their Sung stable and their fire and energy died with the T'ang. We know that Wang Wei founded the Southern School of T'ang painting ; we have many of his superb poems ; but has any man now living seen an undisputed painting by this great artist, whose flowering trees in snowy landscapes have been copied untiringly by later generations ? The vigour of Han Kan's drawing and the "jolting contrasts" of Wang Wei's landscapes will not transplant. Only the imagination, aided by the enthusiastic and detailed descriptions of contemporary writers can now recapture for us these lost treasures.

Even when we have read and pondered all that has been written of the carvings, frescoes and scroll paintings of Wu Tao-tzu and all that poets and essayists have said of the vigorous movement of Han Kan's animals, several hundreds of other names confront us, whose owners, we are assured, did work

5. In "La Philosophie de la Nature dans l'Art de l'Extrême-Orient" (v.p. 89).

comparable with that of these two masters. Each had his special *genre*, his favourite *motif*, his peculiar excellence. Why weary the reader with names and dates when we cannot tell him where he can see the products of immortal brushes?

The painters of the Sung dynasty did their best for us. They copied some of the T'ang pictures which most appealed to them. Some of these copies are extant, either in Western collections or in China and art handbooks present good black and white or colour reproductions. But Sung taste differed in many respects from that of T'ang and if we had a representative collection, according to T'ang judgment, of its works, we should, no doubt, stand amazed at the variety and vigour displayed by the three centuries of T'ang effort.

For some years now there has been a steadily widening consciousness of the T'ang potter's art as displayed in the figures, human and animal, which have been recovered from the all too reluctant soil of China. T'ang horses, glazed and unglazed, figures of ministers attendant on the throne, of dancing mistresses and court ladies, have been seen and admired by increasing numbers of people to whom a new world was thus opened. The unglazed figures frequently show traces of pigment, probably used to indicate the type of garment worn by the living prototype. Horses, with or without riders, were frequently covered with the so-called "egg and spinach" glaze, giving an unusual but effective dappled effect. The T'ang modellers were supreme masters of their art and there is reason to hope that, in many areas, fresh finds will add greatly to our knowledge of Chinese technique.

It is in the study of the scanty remains of T'ang textiles that we see the influence of a growing interchange of art motifs between Persia and China. Where the Persians tended to confine one style of decoration to one medium (e.g., metal) the Chinese showed a wider vision in its application to textiles, pottery and even mural painting. In this respect the Chinese echoed the all-embracing vision of the early Greeks, who were masters of their materials and who refused to be limited by them.

Even so, with all its vitality, the bright flame began to flicker and fail. It had lasted for more than two and a half centuries with no sign of growing dim, when, almost overnight, the inspiration faltered. Craftsmen became indifferent as to their materials and those who worked at higher levels brought no new thought or feeling, but worked on copies of greater works than they could conceive. It is unprofitable to discuss, at this distance, what were the contributing causes governing this decline; the fact is there and must be accepted. It is enough to say that the T'ang genius expired ingloriously and almost suddenly and the dynasty whose name it brightened for ever collapsed upon the ruins of a most brilliantly productive era.

X. THE MODERN PERIOD--THE SUNG DYNASTY

With the Sung dynasty we are on firmer ground in all departments of Chinese art. There are still Sung buildings to be seen in China; there are, both in China and in European collections, examples of Sung painting, calligraphy, pottery and porcelain.

The Sung were particularly fortunate. They were the inheritors of all the ages ; they had scholars in plenty with leisure to sit back and survey the whole field of cultural achievement and they had developed a critical faculty which enabled them to appraise correctly the achievements of their ancestors. This era of judgment did not reach its maturity ; only under the Ch'ing dynasty was that completion reached. But for the first time since the Han, we find a definite scientific attempt at literary and artistic criticism ; a consciousness of judgment as a necessary part of the scheme of things.

We have said that the T'ang period was a luxuriant era of full flowering. The artists, poets, dramatists and musicians of the period were carried away on the wings of their own inspiration. Faced with this inimitable achievement, the Sung realised that they could not in any way compete with success. We do not, therefore, look for a continuation of the T'ang summer ; rather we expect and find a benign autumn of reflection and contemplation.

Yet in some ways Sung stands out as a period of achievement. The woodcut, already some centuries old, took on a new form and a fresh delicacy. Some of the survivors from this period breathe an air of placid fragility. In the field of porcelain, too, Sung stands supreme ; the startlingly beautiful *Ying-ching* porcelains have stirred the pulses and excited the envy of numerous Western collectors. Of course, had more T'ang specimens survived, we might indeed find that Sung technique had not made so great an advance as now appears to be the case.

In poetry, too, a distinct advance was made. The *tz'u*, that fascinating verse of lines of irregular length so reminiscent of the bucolic poetry of Ancient Greece, reached a standard of perfection hitherto unknown. These *tz'u* were sung and were, in many cases, incorporated in current plays. Some of them are delightful vignettes from which stand forth country scenes depicted in the delicate colouring so beloved of the Sung painters.

The Sung essayists were supreme in their field. Essays partook of the nature of paintings and, like them, were pictures of a moment of inspiration in the writer's mind. The names of Ou-yang Hsiu and Su Shih stand out from among a host of serious writers who wrote and painted unforgettable things. Life was far from being the vigorous, light-hearted affair it had been in the T'ang period, but what it was is set down for us in sober prose and sedate poetry which can never be forgotten. Those who feel that T'ang exuberance is the only fitting frame for brilliant poetry and inspired brushwork are inclined to look slightly on the labours of Sung critics and artists. But the critical faculty of the Sung scholars was invaluable in its day and also to later generations ; in addition, we owe to Sung artists faithful copies of paintings of which otherwise even the names might have perished.

As might be expected, the critical assessment which the Sung brought to bear on all departments of human activity did not overlook the Classics. The great Chu Hsi, dissatisfied with the traditional interpretation which had been unchanged since the Han period, wrote voluminous commentaries on the Confucian Canon. His text was received as standard and his commentaries were those specified for the use of aspirants in the State examinations from that time forth and so they remained until the advent of the Republic. If Chu Hsi

was not conspicuous as a painter he was certainly an artist in words, as his voluminous prose writings and his verses attest.

The main characteristic of the Sung genius, then, was its digestive capacity. It took the gigantic legacy of the past into its care, catalogued, classified and modified it. So great was this movement in its all-embracing power that not only was neo-Confucianism born out of the turmoil of conflicting commentators (with Wang An-shih, the Reformer, setting up a revolutionary reading of some parts of the Canon), but Emperors themselves were swept along in the tide of artistic and scholastic reassessment. Once the early years had spent themselves in clamour for revised standards of judgment and reform of earlier conceptions, the Sung scholars settled down into a quiet, studious pursuit of that elusive Truth in literature and art which, they felt, earlier times had failed to find, but which lay, they were convinced, just under their own hands. This quiet repose is seen most clearly in the Sung monochromes, which have a breath-taking simplicity and grace of line. Even in the decorated pieces it makes itself felt in the dignity and restraint with which decoration is used—a thumbnail etching on the body paste allowing the covering glaze to fill the slight depression, with a consequent *suggestion* of design rather than emphasis on it.

But while the rhythm of the Sung period was less pronounced than that of the earlier dynasties and while the tide of achievement flowed less vigorously, it steadily made itself felt in all departments of artistic achievement. If the scholars and artists of Sung felt it necessary to call a halt and take stock, they did at least survey the whole field thoroughly and leave to posterity most valuable monuments of superb achievement. It is not extravagant to include in the really artistic works of this dynasty the great work on human nature by Chu Hsi (*Hsing Li Ta Chuan*) and the comprehensive schemes, initiated by Wang An-shih, the Reformer, whereby the entire national economy was surveyed and overhauled as a preliminary to far-reaching programmes of national reconstruction. In both these activities the sense of grasping the whole as a necessary preliminary to a detailed study of the part, so characteristic of Chinese artistic performance, is evident indeed. It is characteristic of the age that, whereas from the beginning of philosophical speculation in China, human nature had been discussed in all its aspects, only a Sung philosopher found the leisure and the conditions to enable him to survey the subject from almost every conceivable angle.

There are many who call the Sung period "the Age of the Impressionists" and this is, perhaps, a good enough general label. It has been said (perhaps too frequently) that the Sungs were somewhat afraid of the bold daring of the T'angs; that they took refuge in a milder, quieter tone which accorded more closely with their more subdued outlook. Names throng the memory, Li Ch'eng, Tung Yüan, Kuo Hsi, Fan Kuan, Hsia Kuei, Ma Yüan and his son Ma Lin, Li Sung-mien; and before the eye of memory precious scrolls unroll themselves, showing landscapes in winter, horses at rest and a-gallop, quiet scenes where animals graze peacefully, flowering trees with birds a-perch on the branches. One of these scrolls, "A Myriad Miles of the Yangtse," by Hsia Kuei, was shown at the Chinese Exhibition at Burlington House in 1935-36. Mi Fei (Mi Fu) was also of this period. His cliffs in mist and lonely landscapes

have moved generations of art-lovers and still stir the most modern of the moderns.

Our museums and private collections will provide the interested reader with numerous examples of the fine pottery and porcelain of the Sung period. In addition to the *ying ching* (sometimes called "moonlight glaze") mentioned above, Sung productions are *ting yao*, a fine, very delicate white glazed porcelain simulating white jade, the *flambé* glazes on various kinds of body-paste and the *Chün Yao*, made for Imperial use, as well as many variations on the types of pottery and porcelain already in general use.

Philosophy flourished in the Sung era and the raking-over of past achievements induced, under the guidance of the philosophic spirit, a keen interest in the underlying principles of art. Investigation into earlier achievement led to an interest in archæology and several valuable monographs were produced by scholars who had the necessary leisure for prolonged investigation. Even such comparatively unimportant subjects as the history of inkstones, their form and substance, were made topics of study by retired scholars and artists. Emperors employed scholars to catalogue their libraries and the Palace collections of *objets d'art*, so that, in spite of later disasters, we have a complete picture of these early "museums".

The Sungs refined and developed the T'ang celadons—those sage-green smooth-glazed heavy bowls, dishes and vases which had served so many purposes in the Chinese household. Now, delicate underglaze incised decoration assumed greater variety and added to the æsthetic appeal of the velvet glaze. Thus it came about that what had hitherto been useful vessels were now produced in great variety of type and decoration as objects of æsthetic value. It would appear that experiments were now made for the first time to produce new glazes and to effect, by design, some of the accidental results of firing which had added to the decorative appeal of the finished pot.

The "crackled" glaze now appears as a definite purpose of the potter. This had been, of course, an accidental development during earlier centuries, but the Sung potters sought to control it by sudden variations of kiln temperature and by changes in the composition of the glaze. Lacking modern chemical knowledge, the early Chinese potters were at a loss to understand some of the kiln-effects which were most striking, e.g., a brilliant red splash on what was intended to come out a pale-grey monochrome. In place of chemical analysis, a tedious system of trial and error led them eventually to a knowledge of how such processes could be controlled.

To these experiments are due the beautiful ranges of colour, from the deep *sang-de-boeuf*, through a whole range of reds from cinnabar to a pale rose-pink; also the fascinating "hare's-fur" glaze, graded from a mirror-black to golden brown fine line streaks reminiscent of the fur of the hare. The hare's-fur bowls and tea-pots were used in the tea-ceremonies of the Sung and were adopted (under the name *Temmoku*, which is the Japanese reading of the Chinese name *T'ien-mu*, a locality name) by the Japanese for their tea-ceremony. To this dynasty too, belongs the typical Tz'ü Chou ware, one of the few painted decorations of the Sungs. This is usually a bold design of flowers or

tree-branches in chocolate-brown on a white surface, and the result is very striking. Garden seats, wine jars and pillows still survive as types of this ware.

XI. YUAN OR MONGOL DYNASTY

Considering the vigour with which the Mongol onslaught on China was made and carried through, it is surprising that its dominance was of such brief duration. This brevity was no doubt due, in large measure, to a resurgence of the Chinese spirit after the placid reflection of the Sung dynasty. But although the Chinese were successful, in a very short time, in absorbing their fierce, barbarian conquerors, their artistic fire was largely quenched in the effort and their artistic expression never again soared to such heights as had been reached in the past.

As was always China's way with her conquerors, the process of absorption began as soon as the new dynasty was founded. It was not long before the cultural superiority of the vanquished began to conquer the victors (cf. *Hor. Epist. II., i., 136-7*). The ferocity in arms of the conquerors transferred itself to vigour of outline in painting and the depicting of swift motion in the outline of all living things. There are several names of leading artists in this brief period, but their work was not so much original as a transmutation of earlier works into bolder and, be it said, cruder form. Ferocity of facial expression accompanied warlike scenes.

The Mongols, born nomads, were restless people even under the cultural influence of their victims, and when they went westward on their forays they took with them the products of Chinese culture. Thus the art of Persia and India began to show more definite traces of Chinese art-motifs. Recoveries from the soil on the site of old Persian cities show that, over a long period, Chinese silks and porcelains had been passed over the long north-western trail through Turkestan, into the houses of the rich merchants and rulers of these western kingdoms.

A large number of the best paintings of this dynasty are of horses: not unnaturally, as the Mongols practically lived on horse-back. Chao Mêng-fu is a leading painter of this period, and some of his paintings were of predominantly Buddhist interest. As the form of this religion favoured by the Mongols was Lamaism, with its wide range of fearsome devils and evil spirits, the art of the period tends to show almost exclusively this predominant interest.

Little attention has been paid to this dynasty in most manuals of Chinese art, and indeed, there is little to say. For one thing, the dynasty was of short duration, and for another, the Mongols did not bring any cultural contribution with them. They were recipients, not givers. None the less, some definite influence was exerted by these invaders from the rude lands north of the Great Wall. It manifested itself mostly in a renewed vigour of conception and line; an abandonment of the quieter pastel shades of the Sung painters in favour of brighter colours and more emphasis on the startling, even the repellent. It was, in many senses, a Dark Age for the arts, but it did, at least, give impetus to the new spirit which was to inform the early years of the next dynasty. The natural

resentment felt by the Chinese towards their uncouth conquerors found its outlet in numerous ways and not least in their means of self-expression. Poets, painters and musicians found means to show their real emotions, and the drama (in which all three arts co-operated) flourished as never before. Plays retelling the old stories of heroism and endurance became commonplace among the people and several of China's most outstanding novels date from the Yüan dynasty. The brief extinction of the artistic flame was not all loss.

XII. THE MING DYNASTY

The Ming dynasty is the one in which Western students and collectors feel most at home. Not only is there an abundance of material for examination and comparison; there is much explanatory literature available to the student who wishes to inspect intelligently the appropriate section of our national museums and also those private collections to which he has access.

The Ming period falls typically into two periods, the earlier of which closely follows the Sung period in tone and restraint, the later period rapidly degenerating into a profusion of decoration and floridness.

There were historical considerations which made the Ming period the curious mixture which it presents to the student who is fundamentally more attracted by the standards set up by earlier dynasties. The earlier years of Ming were filled with two conflicting emotions, one of unrestrained joy at the throwing off of the yoke of the barbarian (which had political and artistic repercussions), the other a sense of isolation felt by many of those who could not bring themselves into any of the contending political and economic factions.

These artists relied for the most part on the collections formed during the Sung period for their inspiration and materials, so that for the first 50 or 60 years of Ming the Sung tradition was maintained and even began to show a new vigour. It was not long, however, before the exuberance felt by the whole of the people showed itself in a demand for equal exuberance in the products of the potter's kiln. Then came the brilliantly decorated porcelain which was typical of the mid-Ming period.

In painting, too, the same transition from the quiet subdued pastel shades of the Sungs to the vivid colouring reminiscent of the Mongols at their most extreme showed itself in the paintings. Hitherto, restraint had kept the decoration, both in pottery and painting, to a minimum, but now the ideal seemed to be to cover as much of the ground as possible with highly coloured designs without very much attention to detail.

It is curious that, whereas art motifs, intended to decorate all manner of Chinese artistic productions, had been in existence from the Wei period onwards, they had hitherto been used sparingly. Now, with the more widespread custom of decoration, the Mings made full use of these bequests from earlier ages. Figures 3 to 10, for example, show the eight happy-augury emblems of Buddhist tradition and these are to be observed singly or in companies in various works from Wei to Sung. Now the whole set of eight was used to

decorate, e.g., a single plate in panels, the spaces between the emblems being filled in with scrolls of flowers or even human figures. It is not too much to say that, although Buddhism was by no means dominant in the Ming period, more use was then made of these Buddhist emblems than in any period prior to the Ming dynasty. Figures 11 to 18 show the Eight Immortals or genii of Taoism. These figures date from early T'ang period and represent the varying aspects of Taoist belief and practice. Several of the T'ang emperors were ardent Taoists, some of them losing their lives in swallowing mixtures said to be the elixir of immortality. But although the Eight Immortals did occasionally appear in certain types of Taoist decoration and, indeed, are not unknown in Sung art, it was left to the Mings to make full use in pottery and porcelain decoration, as well as in the embroidery on robes, hangings, altar cloths and the like of these striking figures. There are many legends told of these immortals, most of which will be found recounted in one or other of the art manuals listed in the bibliography. In pottery the Mings were, however, behind their predecessors, but in drama and in the novel they were supreme. Many of the finest and most decorative of actors' robes belong to the Ming dynasty. It was during this dynasty that contact with the West became common and no little of the change in Ming artistic production is attributable directly to this foreign influence. Several Jesuit priests became expert in the art of painting in the Chinese style, notably Father Castiglione, who took a Chinese name and painted many pictures still extant. Foreign ideas were suggested to Chinese potters, notably by the Dutch, and blue and white porcelain began to bear foreign designs. There are still to be seen in Western collections Chinese kiln productions which compare very favourably with the later Delft ware. In building the Mings developed a more luxuriant style, with exaggerated eaves, curves and a prolific use of ridge tiles cast by the potters in rough earthenware and covered with vari-coloured glaze. The earlier ridge tiles show simpler lines in modelling and restraint in colouring, but with the progress of the dynasty the colour became more variegated and luxuriant. There was little in the way of sculpture, but such sculpture as did appear tended toward the grotesque. Huge animals were cast in bronze or carved from stone to decorate the Imperial palaces and courtyards and many of these are still to be seen in the Summer Palace and the Forbidden City in Peiping. The most famous painters of Ming are Wang Li-pên, Wu Wei and Lin Liang. The works of several painters of the Ming period are to be found in the British Museum. There were two schools of painting, the so-called early and late. The early school continued in the Sung tradition and technique and proceeded on its way until beyond the middle of the dynasty, when it was overwhelmed by the more colourful and luxuriant productions of the late school. It will be noticed that, whereas the earlier paintings, like those of T'ang and Sung, relied for the effect of their pictures on the balance between plain ground and design, the new school of Ming seemed to grudge the picture more than the minimum of empty space. It would seem that whether in a scroll, on a robe or in mural decoration, the new Ming school preferred to leave nothing to the imagination of the viewer, the artist would insist on supplying every imaginable detail, so that from the point of view of one school of artistic judgment the products of the new Ming school are overlaid. This rapid development brought about its inevitable reaction, and towards the end of the Ming period there came a reversion to traditional types. We have already spoken of the delightful celadons, of which numerous examples from Sung to the 19th century are to be found in our museums and private collections.

It is possible that the Sung technique will never be surpassed: the beautiful velvet glaze was, under the Mings, to become hard and brilliant, the soft sage-green colour of the Sung became a rather hard shrill green in various parts of the Ming period. None the less, the pottery, porcelain, silks, brocades and embroideries do reflect the prosperity of the new dynasty. This prosperity was largely material and lacked much of the spiritual quality of the earlier dynasties. This inevitably showed itself in the products of the potter's kiln and the artist's brush. It was in this dynasty that pottery and porcelain became an important commercial factor in Chinese export trade. Hitherto these artistic productions had found their way abroad largely as gifts from the Chinese Court to foreign embassies and were carried far and wide over the countries of the Far and Middle East. Sea-borne trade with Arabia and countries bordering on the Persian Gulf became a prominent pre-occupation with the Mings, and they lacked no market for their full-bodied, highly coloured products. Factories were set up all over the areas where kaolin was to be found and porcelain vessels of all types began to pour out for the home and the export market. It was not long before specialist kilns were set up to reproduce the traditional types of earlier dynasties, such as the Ting Yao, the Chün Yao, the Tz'u Chou ware and the finer celadons, but in most cases these were copies in which the Ming potters found it impossible to make any improvement. They did, however, achieve some success in their experiments with Ting Yao. This typical Ming production is usually known in the West as "eggshell porcelain", and the fragile delicacy of some of the best Ming vases has never been excelled. For the most part, too, the Ming artists seemed to realise that such fragility and delicacy demanded a minimum of decoration and the finest productions of some of the kilns stand to-day as the Mings' highest achievement in the potter's art. It was during this dynasty, too, that Imperial control of the famous pottery at Ching-tê Chên became complete. All the best products of this kiln went to the Palace, secondary pieces were sold through the ordinary market, largely for Chinese consumption, but many pieces found their way abroad. The most attractive thing about the Ming decorated porcelains to the Western collector and public at large of the time was the variety and richness of its colouring. There is the famous Wu Ts'ai type of decoration, commonly called the "Five Colour" porcelain. Then, of course, there is the famous series—*famille verte*, *famille rose*, *famille noire* and *famille jaune*, which have enjoyed, as many think, an undeserved reputation among connoisseurs of the West. The famous garden seats made of celadon, blue and white porcelain, Tz'u Chou ware and, in special cases, of the *famille verte* and Wu Ts'ai decoration were to be seen widely in large houses and country estates of early 19th century Europe.

One of the most characteristic of Ming productions was the porcelain decorated with enamels in many varieties of bright colours. These designs were sometimes painted on the biscuit prior to glazing, others again were applied after the first white glaze had been put on. The result was a raised design of great brilliance.

Another outstanding Ming achievement was the rich *sang-de-boeuf* glaze, a deep, brilliant red reminiscent of the gleam of a ruby. With the new perfection of glaze, over which potters now had complete control, this colour presents a crystalline appearance which is very satisfying. In some vessels a minute crackle pattern appears in the glaze.

As the dynasty drew towards its close a fine quality ware was developed in south China. This was known as Fukien ware, but to Western connoisseurs it is better known as *blanc-de-chine*. It presents a milky-white smooth glaze (sometimes shading into off-white or cream colour), highly sympathetic to the touch and æsthetically most satisfying. Although all types of bowls, dishes, plates, etc., were made of this ware, Western collectors know it best in the form of figurines representing Kuan Yin, Goddess of Mercy (the Sanskrit Avalokitesvara) and large numbers of these figures, from a few inches in height up to several feet, are to be seen in museums. Some of them remind one forcibly of traditional representations of the Virgin Mary; others have a strong resemblance to the late Queen Victoria.

Reference has already been made to the gigantic stone carvings lining the approach to the Ming tombs. Herein may be seen the essential difference between Ming and earlier dynasties, for while the Ming sculptures display virility, they are altogether devoid of that restraint which characterises earlier work.

Architecture, too, shows the same bold vigour unmarked by restraint. Early in the dynasty the Court moved from Nanking to Peking and an attempt was made to transform the new capital into a veritable fairyland of ostentation. Sufficient good taste remained, however, to prevent the wildest excesses, and apart from extravagances in decoration of city walls and Imperial palaces, Peking (now Peiping) shows a summary view of Ming taste laid over earlier artistic achievement.

XIII. THE CH'ING DYNASTY

Once more China was to submit to alien sovereignty. In 1644, the vigorous war-loving Manchus, who had now made themselves undisputed masters of Mongol territories, swept southward and occupied the Dragon Throne.

The new rulers of China were not slow to recognise Chinese cultural superiority. They determined to make themselves well versed in all Chinese cultural activities. Imperial tutors were appointed from among the best scholars in the Empire and the traditions and forms of the dynasty they had supplanted were taken over as they stood.

This explains a certain continuity in the accepted tradition. No startling changes appeared in any art form as between the two dynasties. To be sure, the Ming blue and white and enamelled wares were commercialised and forms specifically directed to the foreign market made their appearance. Trade with Persia and India flourished, therefore Persian and Indian motifs became more common in the products of the Ch'ing dynasty. The so-called ginger-jars (blue and white) had a vogue, which still continues. These vessels are very attractive and the best of them show the supreme perfection now reached by the potter.

Textile exports flourished and the Ch'ings were not slow to see the possibilities inherent in working those designs most attractive to the foreign market. Painted and embroidered silks, satins, brocades and tapestries were produced in great abundance and good examples are still to be found in various parts of China. For the many works dealing especially with this period see bibliography.

In painting, earlier models were copied, imitated and modified. There was much attention to technical detail, which resulted in "fussiness". Much work was done, by first-class scholars, whereby critical and academic studies of artistic effort were achieved. In some cases the writers attempted to argue the reversal of former artistic canons, but on the whole the earlier standard remained unchanged. The Ch'ing period stands out as a time of great intellectual and academic achievement, but its artistic productions are not to be mentioned in the same breath as those of former ages.

CONCLUSION

Throughout its history Chinese art has been distinguished by faithfulness to the ancient tradition. This is true through all changes of material and all adaptations of method. The sureness of touch, whether of stylus, knife, or brush, is profound and is induced only by long pondering on the object. Thus the work is actually completed within the artist's brain before any step towards its physical execution is taken. In pottery and porcelain an unerring sense of shape is linked with the ever-present continuity of tradition and (in the best periods) utmost restraint and balance.

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CHRONOLOGY OF CHINESE DYNASTIES

Legendary

	B.C.
Huang Ti (Yellow Emperor)	2698
Shao Hao	2598
Chuan Hsu	2514
Ti Ku	2436
Ti Chih	2366
Yao	2357
Shun	2255

A.D.

Chou	951-960
Sung (Northern)	960-1126
(Southern)	1127-1278

Tartar House

Liao Dynasty	907-1119
Western Liao (Kerait)	1125-1166
Chin (Golden)	1115-1234
Yuan (Mongol)	1260-1368

Historical

Hsia Dynasty	2205-1766
Shang	1766-1122
Chou	1122-258
Ch'in	258-207
Han	206 B.C.-A.D. 221

The Three Kingdoms

A.D.

Wei	222-265
Shu Han	221-263
Wu	222-280
Tsin	265-313

Chinese Southern Dynasties

Eastern Tsin	317-419
Sung	420-477
Chi	479-499
Liang	499-557
Chen	557-589

Barbarian North

Northern Wei	386-535
Northern Chi	550-581
Northern Chou	557-589

Renascent China

Sui Dynasty	589-618
T'ang	618-907
Later Liang Dynasty	907-921
.. T'ang	923-954
.. Chin	936-944
.. Han	947-948

Chinese Restoration

Ming Dynasty	1368-1644
Emperors :	
Hung Wu	1368-1399
Chien Wen	1399-1403
Yung Lo	1403-1425
Hung Hsi	1425-1426
Hsuan Te	1426-1436
Cheng T'ung	1436-1450
Ching T'ai	1450-1457
T'ien Shun	1457-1465
Ch'eng Hua	1465-1488
Hung Chih	1488-1506
Cheng Te	1506-1522
Chia Ching	1522-1567
Lung Ch'ing	1567-1573
Wan Li	1573-1620
Tai Ch'ang	1620-1621
T'ien Ch'i	1621-1628
Ts'ung Cheng	1628-1644

Manchu House

Ch'ing (or Manchu) Dynasty	1644-1911
Emperors :	
Shun-Chih	1644-1662
Kang-Hsi	1662-1723
Yung-Cheng	1723-1736
Chien-Lung	1736-1796
Chia-Ching	1796-1821
Tao-Kuang	1821-1850
Hsien-Feng	1850-1861
T'ung-Chih	1861-1875
Kuang-Hsu	1875-1908
Hsuan - Tung (abdicated)	1908-1911

THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

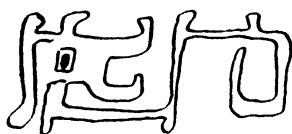


Fig. 1—Archaic Dragon Border

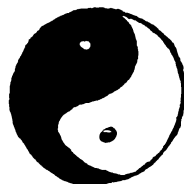


Fig. 2—Yin-Yang Symbol

The Eight Happy Augury Emblems of Buddhist Decoration

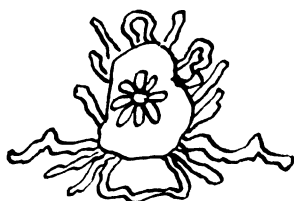


Fig. 3—The Flaming Wheel



Fig. 4—The Shell



Fig. 5—Umbrella of State

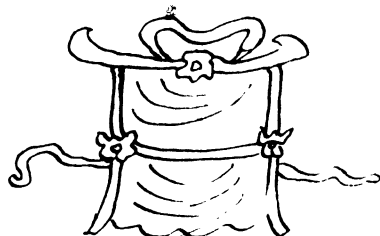


Fig. 6—The Canopy



Fig. 7—Lotus Flower

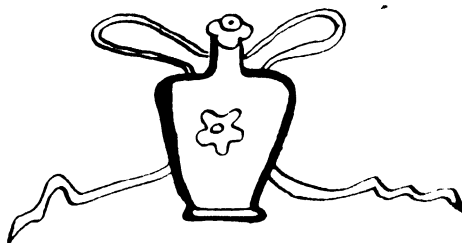


Fig. 8—The Vase

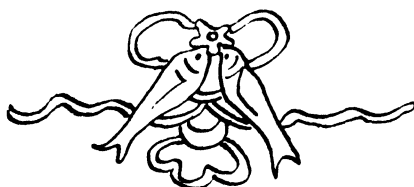


Fig. 9—The Pair of Fish

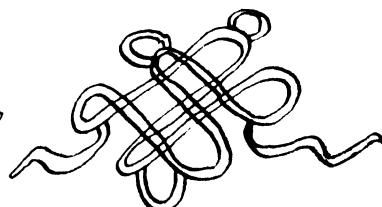


Fig. 10—The Endless Knot

THE EIGHT GENII OF TAOISM

Frequently called the Eight Immortals



CHUNG-LI CH'UAN



CHANG KUO-LAO



LÜ TUNG-PIN



TS'AO KUO-CHIU



LI T'IEH-KUAI



HAN HSIANG-TSU



LAN TS'AI-HO



HO HSIEN-KU

MING DYNASTY REIGN-PERIOD MARKS AND DATES

年製
洪武

Hung Wu, 1368-1398

年製
弘治

Hsuan Te, 1426-1435

年製
大明嘉靖

Chia Ching, 1522-1566

年製
德

Husan Te, 1426-1433

年製
大明宣

年製
德

Cheng Te, 1506-1521

年製
大明正

年製
慶
大明隆

Lung Ch'ing, 1567-1572

年製
治

Hung Chih, 1488-1505

年製
大明弘

年製
化
大明成

Ch'eng Hua, 1465-1487

年製
曆
大明萬

Wan Li, 1573-1620

年製
孝
樂

Yung Lo, 1403-1424

年製
永樂

Yung Lo, 1403-1424

年製
啟
大明天

T'ien Ch'i, 1621-1627

年製
崇禎

Ch'ung Cheng, 1628-1644

CH'ING DYNASTY REIGN-PERIOD MARKS AND DATES

治年製

大清順

順治
年製

Shun Chih, 1644-1661

熙年製

大清康

康熙
年製

K'ang Hsi, 1662-1722

正年製

大清雍

雍正
年製

Yung Cheng, 1723-1735

隆年製

大清乾

乾隆
年製

Ch'ien Lung, 1736-1796

年製衣

嘉慶

嘉慶
年製

Chia Ch'ing, 1796-1821

光年製

大清道

道光
年製

Tao Kuang, 1821-1850

豐年製

大清咸

咸豐
年製

Hsien Feng, 1851-1861

治年製

大清同

同治
年製

T'ung Chih, 1861-1875

緒年製

大清光

光緒
年製

Kuang Hsu, 1875-1908

年製

洪憲

Hung Hsien (1916)
(the usurpation of
Yuan Shih-kai)

PARALLELS BETWEEN CHINESE AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION

DYNASTIC DATES	CHINESE HISTORY	CHINESE CULTURE	DYNASTIES	CONTACTS	WESTERN HISTORY
B.C. 2697	LEGENDARY PERIOD. Paleolithic and neolithic implements prove continuous occupation, but archaeological research not fully developed.	Neolithic remains found in Honan and elsewhere showing, in stone and pottery, prototypes of Chou bronzes. The Emperor Yu controlled the flood waters.	FIVE EM- PERORS	No known contacts.	Evidence of civilisation Crete (c. 10,000), Egypt (c. 8,000), Babylon (c. 6,000). Historical records in Egypt from c. 5,000.
2205	YANG SHAO or Stone Bronze Age. Human remains of Mongoloid physical type found in Kansu.	Bronze and copper found in Kansu. Silk culture known.	HSIA	Fragments of iron ore not of native origin indicate intercourse with other countries.	Great Babylonian Empire. Stonehenge and Avebury in existence.
1766	SHANG or YIN EMPIRE centred in Honan and in touch with the coast.	Oracle bone inscriptions ; earliest known form of Chinese script. Glazed earthenware, bronze vessels. First canals built. Chariots and ploughs.	SHANG or YIN	Bronze working introduced from Western Asia. So-called Scythian influence in bronze work, especially animal designs.	GOLDEN AGE OF EGYPT. Zenith of Aegean and Mycenaean culture.
1122	Feudal Age. Division among hereditary fiefs ; later, contest between six rival Kingdoms. "Warring States" period.	Age of great classical Literature and of Philosophers Confucius (551-478) and Mencius (371-298). Taoist philosophers.	CHOU	Glass making introduced from Western Asia. Silk export to Europe mentioned in Aristotle and Pliny the Elder.	Carthage founded (800) ; Rome (753). Fall of Nineveh (606). Great age of Greek literature, art, science, and philosophy.

255	<p>FIRST CENTRALISED EMPIRE, under Ch'ien Shih Huang Ti. End of Feudalism. System of Provinces instituted. Word "China" derived from Ch'in dynasty.</p>	<p>Bronze, jade, ivory.</p>	<p>Fall of Athenian Empire (c. 400). Rise of Macedon and conquest of Greece and Middle East by Alexander the Great (330). Division of Alexander's Empire.</p>
	<p>Bronzes, Iron implements and weapons. Writing brush and ink invented. A uniform script instituted. Burning of the Books in effort to destroy classical literature.</p>	<p>C'H'IN</p>	<p>Emperor (Ch'ien Shih Huang Ti) built the Great Wall to protect Empire from invaders.</p> <p>Spread of Greek culture. Ptolemies in Egypt. First Museum founded at Alexandria.</p>
206	<p>Defeat of the Huns. Consolidation of unified Empire.</p>	<p>HAN</p> <p>Revival of Literature. Historians, Dictionary writers, Essayists. Bas-relief, lacquer metal work. Buddhism introduced.</p>	<p>Emperor Wu sent delegates to find route to India. Spices, pearls and gems sent to China from Rome c. A.D. 166. Chinese silk sent to Greece and Rome. Chang Ch'ien travels through the Tarim Basin and the Pamir districts.</p> <p>ROMAN CONQUEST OF MEDITERRANEAN WORLD and rule of Roman Empire.</p> <p>Conquest of Greece and Near East (2nd c.). Caesar's conquest of France and occupation of Britain (55 B.C.). End of Roman Republic (27 B.C.).</p>

Parallels between Chinese and Western Civilization—(continued)

DYNASTIC DATES	CHINESE HISTORY	CHINESE CULTURE	DYNASTIES	CONTACTS	WESTERN HISTORY
A.D. 1	Emperor Wu, "The Warlike," made conquests stretching to Mongolia in the North, Chinese Turkestan in the West, Canton and Annam in the South and Fukien in the East. China the Great Power of the East.	Paper invented by Ts'ai Lun. Confucianism dominant. First National University founded (A.D. 29). Post Offices set up along main highways.	HAN	Chinese essayists and editors flourish. Old writings recovered and re-edited with new commentaries.	Birth of Jesus Christ. Mission from Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (2nd c.). Augustan, and Silver Ages of Latin literature. Græco-Roman Art.
220	AGE OF CONFUSION. Civil wars. Fall of First Empire. Tartar inroads. Tartars in N. ; Chinese in S. Nanking made Capital.	Buddhism first becomes an authorised religion. Development of Chinese painting. Block printing existed. Grand Canal Building. Earliest mention of tea.	THREE KINGDOMS and SIX DYNASTIES	Indian and Greek influences shown, especially in sculpture. Fa-Hsien travels to India to obtain knowledge of Buddhism and relics.	Decline and Fall of Rome. Conquest of Empire by Goths and Vandals. Rise of Byzantine art (c. 5th c.). Science and Mathematics develop in Arabia.
589	SUI DYNASTY. Re-unification of China.	Grand Canal completed.	SUI		
618	SECOND CENTRAL - ISEMPERE. South China fully incorporated. Civil Service developed. The T'ang Empire the focussing point for Eastern World in trade, commerce and arts. Peasant revolts.	GOLDEN AGE OF POETRY. Painting flourishes. Gradual evolution of Porcelain from pottery. First periodical — The Peking Gazette (712). First printed book (868). Buddhism widespread. Bank notes first used.	T'ANG	War with Korea. Buddhist priests to and from India. Chinese ships reach Persian Gulf. Caliph Harun-al-Rashid sent envoys to Emperor of China. Nestorianism, Zoroastrianism and Manichæism introduced from Persia.	RISE AND EXPANSION OF ISLAM (8th c.). Arab invasion of Egypt and Persia. Moors in Spain (712). Charlemagne defends Europe against Islam : crowned Holy Roman Emperor A.D. 800. Danish invasions (9th c.). Scotland a Kingdom (844).

907	Partition. Capital removed from Ch'angan (the modern Sian), to Kaifeng.	Printing of the classics (954).	FIVE DYNASTIES	Rise of Japanese art, literature and calligraphy, copied from China.	Byzantine Renaissance. Moslem - Christian wars in Spain. Period of Alfred the Great in England.
960	THIRDCENTRALISED EMPIRE : pacific and conservative. Increased wealth and population. Civil Service control. Principles of taxation laid down by Wang An-shih. Financial and labour reforms. Institution of new land survey. Kin Tartars conquer North China. Kublai Khan tries but fails to subdue Japan (1266).	Chu Hsi remodels Confucianism. The classic renaissance. Zenith of painting. Porcelain developed. Painting, porcelain and philosophy flourish in South China. First movable type.	SUNG	Trade with Arabia. Sea power grows. Knowledge of Africa and Europe. Land routes decline. Foreign religions decline. RISE OF NOMAD DYNASTIES. Mongols control North Asia in later period of Dynasty. MARCO POLO'S overland journey to China (1274).	FEUDAL AGE IN EUROPE. Struggles between Popes and Emperors. Christian Crusades against Islam. Norman Conquest (1066). Rise of Universities and emergence of national art and literature in France from 12th c. John signs Magna Charta (1215). Development of Parliament (1250). Hanseatic League (1241.)
1279	PERIOD OF MONGOL CONQUESTS. Kublai Khan rules Empire stretching from Eastern Europe to Yellow Sea. Temporary eclipse of scholar-official class.	Beginning of fiction and drama. Establishment of an Academy of Music under Royal patronage. Book compiled on medical jurisprudence.	YUAN	Paper reaches Europe. Gunpowder used in war. Compass used in navigation. Free contact throughout Mongol Empire. Influx of foreigners. Overseas traders encouraged.	Great Age of Gothic art. ITALIAN RENAISSANCE (Giotto, Dante). 100 Years' War between Britain and France. Swiss Federation (1273). Chaucer (1328-1400). Papal Schism and captivity at Avignon.

Parallels between Chinese and Western Civilization (continued)

DYNASTIC DATES	CHINESE HISTORY	CHINESE CULTURE	DYNASTIES	CONTACTS	WESTERN HISTORY
1368	<p>EXPULSION OF MONGOLS. Incorporation of S.W. China. Rise of Peking as cultural centre.</p> <p>Period of sea expeditions and beginning of Chinese influence in the South Seas.</p> <p>Inner corruption and threats from Japan and Manchus led to disintegration.</p>	<p>Porcelain becomes a great industry.</p> <p>Traditionalism in art and literature.</p> <p>Development of novel, drama, and literary criticism.</p> <p>Books on astronomy and agriculture.</p> <p>Decline of Buddhism.</p>	<p>MING</p>	<p>Porcelain making reaches Venice.</p> <p>Tea in England.</p> <p>Great sea expeditions and colonisation of South Seas.</p> <p>Portuguese and British traders in Canton.</p> <p>Christian missionaries reach China.</p>	<p>BREAK UP OF MIDDLE AGES.</p> <p>GROWTH OF NATIONAL STATES AND BEGINNING OF MODERN HISTORY.</p> <p>SCIENCE. Invention of printing (1446). Leonardo da Vinci (b. 1452). Copernicus (b. 1473). Galileo (b. 1564). Turks take Byzantium (1453). Discovery of America (1492).</p> <p>Reformation in Germany (1527).</p> <p>Elizabethan Age in Britain.</p>
1644	<p>After 150 years' expansion and international peace, political upheaval and civil conflict.</p> <p>Scramble of foreign powers for concessions.</p> <p>Defeat by Japan (1895).</p> <p>Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1867-1925) builds Revolution.</p>	<p>Manchu censorship of literature. Second Burning of the Books.</p> <p>Encyclopaedic research in ancient arts.</p> <p>Translations and adaptations from Western literature.</p> <p>Commercialisation and</p>	<p>CH'ING</p>	<p>Period of Western Aggression. Opium Wars. Tientsin Treaties (1858) opening China to British, American, French and Russian Trade.</p> <p>T'AIPING REBELLION (1850-66).</p>	<p>DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE AND DEMOCRATIC IDEAS IN France, Britain, Holland and the U.S.A. (17th c.).</p> <p>Civil War in Britain.</p> <p>Royal Society founded (1662). American</p>

	tionary Party. Struggle against Manchus and overthrow (1911). Death of Empress Dowager (1908).	deterioration of porcelain industry.	Development of railways and river communications, coal and iron mines, mainly with foreign capital. Boxer rising (1901).	Declaration of Independence (1776). FRENCH REVOLUTION AND END OF FEUDALISM (1789). Napoleonic Wars. Spread of nationalism and democracy through Europe. Mechanical Revolution 18th c.	
1911	The REPUBLIC OF CHINA founded (October, 1911). Country made great strides towards unification in 1937 in a common front against Japan. War needs hasten industrialisation, shift of industry and political consciousness.	Literary renaissance. Popular education facilitated by the introduction of vernacular language by Dr. Hu Shih. Russian and Western influence and cultural interchanges. Introduction of Western scientific methods.	RE-PUBLIC	China at war with Germany (1917). Soviet Government annuls unequal treaties (1917), and signs Treaty (1924). Nine-Power Treaty (1922). Japan invades Manchuria 1931; invades China (1937). Britain and U.S.A. end unequal treaties (1943).	First World War (1914). Russian Revolution (1917). League of Nations (1919). Rise of Fascism (Italy, 1922; Germany, 1933). World Economic Crisis (1930). 2nd World War begins Sept. 3, 1939. Japan attacks Britain and U.S.A., Dec. 7, 1941.
1945	End of war with Japan (Aug. 15).	Negotiations between National Government and Communists.		China begins rehabilitation.	End of war in Europe (May 8). U.N. discussions on international agreements.
1946	Draft Constitution under revision pending calling of National Assembly.	Truce between Nationalist and Communist forces.	*	Various industrial schemes begun. China takes part in U.N. Conferences.	

* See for latest developments Section III, Kuomintang.

Section IX

EDUCATION

Education is a controlling grace to the young, consolation to the old, wealth to the poor, and ornament to the rich.

Diogenes of Sinope, quoted in Diog. Laert. vi. 68.

A TABLE OF CHINESE DYNASTIES

The Five Rulers ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2852-2205 B.C.
Hsia Dynasty ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2205-1766 B.C.
Shang (or Yin) Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	1766-1122 B.C.
Chou Dynasty ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1122-255 B.C.
Ch'in Dynasty ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	255-206 B.C.
Han Dynasty ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	206 B.C.-A.D. 221
Three Kingdoms Period	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 221-420
Division (North and South)	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 420-589
Sui Dynasty ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 589-618
T'ang Dynasty ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 618-907
Five Dynasties ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 907-960
Sung Dynasty ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 960-1280
Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 1280-1368
Ming Dynasty	A.D. 1368-1644
Ch'ing Dynasty	A.D. 1644-1911
The Republic of China...	A.D. 1911-

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FOREWORD

We had hoped that a Chinese, with longer experience of his own country's educational system than we can claim, would write the following account of education in that ancient land. But these are troublous times—not least for the sons of Han. Some we would have asked have returned home after years of exile ; others were on the point of departure for the homeland they had not seen for many years. But there was an insistent demand for a history of education in China so we had to undertake the task ourselves.

Yet the Chinese themselves speak, albeit through an interpreter. The most consistent voice is that of Ma Tuan-lin, who, in 1321, issued his monumental *Wen hsien t'ung k'ao* in 348 books after twenty years of labour. This is a library in itself ; a hundred years ago Remusat thought so highly of it that he said, quite rightly, that the tremendous labour of mastering the Chinese language would be worth while if only to enable a man to read this one work. Yet how many more there are, equally worth while !

Ma Tuan-lin brings us down, almost to his own day, from the remotest antiquity. We have profited from many of his divisions : those on Government officials, Rites, Music and Literary Graduates ; but most of all, throughout this series of pamphlets, from books 174 to 247, dealing with the literary achievements of the Chinese. Ma's lacunae have been supplied from the commentators of the Ccncfucian Canon and from the dynastic histories as well as from the great encyclopaedia *Ku chin t'u shu chi ch'eng*. Even so, many difficulties remain unresolved : we have lost more of Chinese literature than has come down to us.

Ma's work has always been highly esteemed. In 1586, a supplement to it, by Wang Ch'i, was issued under the title *Su wen hsien t'ung k'ao*. This was in 254 books and continued the original work through the Liao, Chin, Yuan and Ming dynasties. This was not of the same high standard as the original work and, by Imperial Command, in 1772 there appeared a complete revision by a board of scholars (after some fifteen years' labour) in 253 books with the title *Chin ting su wen hsien t'ung k'ao*.

At the end of the reign of Ch'ien Lung a further extension of the work was undertaken, to bring in the first 150 years of the Manchu dynasty. This edition was known as *Chin ting huang chao wen hsien t'ung k'ao*. There is an additional section on Temple practices (some of these bearing on moral education and teaching practice) and some curious facts and odd details of Manchu tradition are to be discovered by the patient reader. We have laid under contribution every work we could find, Chinese or foreign, which had anything of value to our purpose.

NEVILLE WHYMANT.

Chinese M.O.I.
August, 1946.

Section IX

EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

EDUCATION, LIKE FREEDOM, HAS BECOME A CATCHWORD. NEVER WAS SO MUCH discussion of it with, perhaps, so little clarity of thought. What do we mean by education, and can we be sure that what we intend is identical with the other fellow's idea ?

To many, education is the panacea. But our ills will *not* be cured by it until we have the thing itself, whether it is what we think we mean by it or not. For education should not mean merely a course of instruction, a segment of a life spent in a classroom ; it should be a way of life. For the whole of life to be a living, the whole of life must be a learning.

Ancient China held the key to the mystery. That is why we have gone to the remotest antiquity in beginning this account of China's educational system. The Chinese institutions of to-day are in transition ; they are no longer what they were, nor are they what they will be. Yet they have developed logically from those far-off beginnings when " the sages of old " beloved of Confucius, ruled the people in benevolence and righteousness. Benevolent they were because they *knew* and righteous they were because they were *wise*.

We in the West have divorced knowledge from wisdom, and rarely nowadays do the twain meet. When they do it is almost as strangers. China, too, had her periods of learned sterility, but her salvation was that, in due time, someone arose to point the way back.

We say back advisedly, for one of the fondest delusions of men is that any forward movement must be good. But men can move forward into error as into advantage and the only correct step, at times, is a reversion into a tested past.

Men must get back their feeling for words. Terms are now used so loosely and so extravagantly that language has lost its force. Superlatives have become daily currency, so that when men need to set down their thoughts on the sublime they have no words left. It is the task of education to weigh values ; to estimate qualities and to relate terms to realities. " Rectify your terms " said Confucius, " so that the object and its name may have true relation one with the other."

Education, true education, can yet save mankind. But it must be taken out of the " slogan-fair " first ; it must be removed from the hands of politicians and given over to those who have the wider view and the deeper sympathy which wisdom alone brings. We must know how education first arose in different centres of culture ; we must compare the beginnings and trace the development of stage-by-stage progress. We must learn from others and hope to help them in our turn.

It is here that a study of the Chinese educational system will prove of the greatest help in our problem. Steady decline from a glorious tradition, with occasional recovery and gradual change—such a picture will serve as a guide for those in whose hands the education of the youth of the West will lie.

The Chinese system of teaching through the greater part of history was such as to develop a prodigious verbal memory. Beginning early with the memorising of moral poetic texts, the students went on to learn by heart the whole of the Confucian Canon. Thereafter the student had little difficulty in holding in his memory such other texts as appealed to him, and it was, until recently, no uncommon experience to find scholars who carried an entire library in their heads : who could, moreover, give book, chapter and verse for their quotation without reference to the printed word.

We may not consider this necessary, nor even desirable. But no true lover of scholarship can fail to deplore the slipshod current habit of misquotation. Many a public figure fumbles ingloriously after an elusive illustration which, properly remembered, would add point to his peroration. He ends by shamefacedly paraphrasing "noble thoughts wedded to noble words", often completely reversing the sense and giving garbage in place of pearls.

We need to recapture the early fire of those ancients who, having asked "what, why and how?" of the universe and of man, set themselves to tell their fellows what they had discovered. We need to realise that those who have gone before were often wiser than we, their descendants. We must go back to the youth of the world and see afresh the dew on the rose in the early dawn, knowing it for a miracle, rather than for something to be explained away by test-tube and retort in a laboratory. The laboratories are necessary in the life we have elected to live, but they are not the whole of that life. There is room for *all* human experience in a truly complete educational system, but we must again learn, with the early Chinese and the ancient Greeks, to see things whole : we must no longer burrow in our own individual tunnels and shut out the world-enlightening sun.

I. THE BEGINNINGS

Education has always been the primary concern of Chinese, whether Government officials or private citizens. The beginnings can be traced back to the very earliest days of recorded history. This is probably due to the fact that China has had the sense of the necessity for producing the ideal ruler in order that the State may not be embarrassed by mistakes made by those untutored in the art of Government. Even at the time when educational institutions, in the Western sense of the term, can be first observed they are in such condition that many years of preparation must have been needed to bring them to the condition in which we find them. For example, consciously organised educational institutions may be seen in the time of the two ancient rulers, Yao and Shun (2357–2205 B.C.). In this period and the two dynasties immediately following, Hsia and Shang (2205–1122 B.C.), are to be found the roots of the Civil Service examination system and also the founding of State educational offices, as well as the beginnings of schools and colleges.

From the outset the Chinese educational system was based on the competitive examination. The main purpose of this was the provision of men of ability for the service of the State. China always referred to "the ancient sages", those early rulers who were ideal because they possessed all knowledge. To a Chinese, therefore, it was necessary that before a man reached a position of power he should be well educated, as this would ensure his proper use of such power. Also it was said in very early times "employ the able and promote the worthy". This, as a maxim of government, is of venerable antiquity.

There was at one time a system whereby those already in office were examined to test their ability to continue in such employment and no doubt the deficiencies in some of those so tested showed more clearly the necessity of a preliminary training for all those who might some day hold high offices in the State. The Emperor Shun, already mentioned, was said to have examined his own officers every third year, and after three such triennial examinations they were either promoted or dismissed as unworthy.

For the earliest record of Government offices of an educational character we must go to *Shang Shu*, commonly called the "Book of History". There we are told that the Emperor Shun appointed a *Ssutu*, or Minister of Education, to teach the people the duties of the Five Human Relationships. These were :

1. The relationship between sovereign and subject ;
2. Between parent and child ;
3. Between husband and wife ;
4. Between elder and younger brother ; and
5. Between friends.

He also appointed a Minister of Religious Practices and Ceremonies, and a Director of Music. Once founded, these offices continued through the centuries into modern times. It should be remembered that these were State offices, and that therefore at a very early date the Chinese were conscious of the responsibility of a government in matters of informing the people.

From before the 22nd century B.C. there were established near the Imperial Palace two educational institutions called respectively Shang Hsiang and Hsia Hsiang. The first was a senior college and the second a junior college. During the Hsia dynasty they changed their names to Tung Hsu and Hsi Hsu. These two names indicated the respective positions of the colleges, as the first stood to the east of the Imperial Palace and the second to the west. The ruler paid regular visits to these institutions in order to pay his respects to the aged scholars there and to discuss with them current problems of the State administration. There were ceremonies and rituals performed on the occasions of such visits, and these gave rise, in course of time, to a system of dances and music. This also is typical of Chinese education for, as was the case with the ancient Greeks, book learning was considered only one aspect of a general education, ritual and community dancing being regarded as a necessary development of the body, while literary studies were a necessary development of the mind.

There were at the same time other institutions of learning but these were, more specialised, devoting themselves mainly to one branch or other of the numerous studies considered advantageous to the development of State officials. One of these was archery, which was a discipline as well as a necessary accomplishment in time of war. Others dealt specifically with the teaching of music to blind people, and at one time the majority of the musicians employed in the State ceremonial were blind persons.

From the scanty records which have come down to our day (and it must always be remembered that we have lost far more of Chinese literature than has survived), it appears that the main subjects taught in all the general institutions of study were the Five Humanities, music, ritual and ceremonial. Ritual, in the beginning, concerned itself principally with the observances traditionally associated with the worship of the Spirit of Heaven, the Spirit of Earth and the Spirits of the Dead. This last became known in the West as ancestor worship, which is something more than a misnomer, as the ancestors themselves are not, in fact, worshipped. These practices, however, did enable the individual to become familiar with forms of worship which played an important part in the public and private life of those early days. The people of those times did, in fact, believe that their personal happiness and collective prosperity depended to a large extent upon sustaining a right relationship with the spirits of the dead, and that this relationship was dependent upon proper forms of ritual observance. For this the word *li* was the generic term. As time went on, however, this term came to include all religious and social usages, manners and customs, and even went so far as to encompass many of the national laws. These laws were, of course, enacted in accordance with the ancient principles of ceremonies and ritual, and were therefore a kind of legal fossilisation of the manners and practices of the time. The interested student can find full details of these laws and practices in *Li Chi*, known in the West as the "Book of Rites", in the *Chou Li*, commonly known as the "Ceremonial Ritual of Chou", and in the *I Li*, which we often call the "Ritual of Decorum". The translation of *Li* as "ceremony" is not at all satisfactory, for *Li* has a much wider meaning than the English word. It includes not only the behaviour which issues in external conduct but necessarily involves all that array of right principles from which natural behaviour and politeness spring; government policy, family organisation and the rules governing society all spring from *li*, and in a sense it might be said that the entire Chinese way of life, public and private, is an exposition of *li*.

Closely associated with *li* is music, which also includes the ancient songs, poetry, dancing and instrumental music. Confucius laid great stress on the importance of *li* and *yueh*, this latter the generic term for music and all its connotations. From another ancient book in the Confucian Canon, the "Shih Ching", we can gather what were the principal musical instruments used in the early Chinese State. Mentioned in this work are drums, the flute, bells, the lute, and panpipes.

We are told that the main function of music was to fashion the temper and the character of the individual so that he might come to be in harmony with his fellow-beings and with the spirits. So we read that when Shun appointed Kwei as Director of Music he said "Teach the youth of the land so that the straightforward may yet be mild, the gentle may yet be dignified, that

the strong may not be tyrannical and the impetuous may not be arrogant." He also said " Poetry is the expression of earnest thought and singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression. In playing together ; i.e., the eight different kinds of instrument can all be adjusted so that one shall not take from or interfere with another and the spirits of men will thereby be brought into harmony."

As to the Five Relationships, we are told by Mencius that these should be guided by the principles of love, righteousness, propriety, deference and sincerity. The belief, from the earliest times, was that if the people were imbued with these principles they would live at peace with one another, and social and state stability would thus be secured.

Thus it appears that the content of education from the time of Yao and Shun through the first two dynasties down to the time of Chou was essentially moral and religious in character. The existence of archery schools would indicate that physical or military training went hand in hand with purely literary and ethical studies. As printing was not yet discovered, all literary studies had to be confined to such works as those mentioned in *Li Chi Chu Shu*, namely, bamboo books, and the students were instructed in the art of tracing or etching characters on tablets or strips of bamboo.

As the recording of thought was at this time a very laborious process, the Chinese began very early the traditional practice of learning by heart. For this purpose verse or a rhythmical prose was found to be the best medium, as it tended to remain more readily in the memory. When, in later days, the invention of silk and paper and the writing brush made the keeping of records a much less cumbersome affair, we find that early records carry such mistakes as might readily come from the recording of a half-remembered line. There was not as yet any large body of knowledge and much of what was handed down by word of mouth was traditional ; moral training was twofold, it was by word of mouth and by example. For example, in *Li Chi* we are told that in the performance of ceremonial and usages of the school the master sets the model and the students follow his movements. The earliest recorded historical writings in China show that the ancient rulers and teachers exerted their rule and influence over the people not so much by precept as by their personal character and conduct. One has only to recall how very prominently the names Yao and Shun appear in all Chinese historical and philosophical writings to realise how great their example must have been, for neither of them has left a single written word to posterity. From the earliest records we have it appears that the imitation of seniors in years and learning played the most important part in the education of the people of ancient times. Experience and observation had shown, even in these far-off days, the principle that juniors will naturally and almost unconsciously mould their lives according to the models which called forth their admiration. Personal example, particularly in regard to morals and manners, is frequently superior to advice and orders, and Chinese experience has proved this through long centuries of trial. It had early become axiomatic with the teachers that the aim of education was a twofold one, namely, to enable the individual to live happily and peaceably with his fellow-citizens and to maintain at the same time the stability of the State. This is shown in the constantly recurring Chinese expression, "*Hsiu Chi Chih Jen* ", which means " Cultivate one's own person and then govern others."

II. THE CHOU DYNASTY

As students of Chinese philosophy well know, the great underlying principle of all Chinese philosophical teaching was the production of the supreme ruler and the perfect citizen. This, according to Chinese ideas, could only be done if both were instructed in all the varied departments of knowledge. As the Chinese educational and cultural horizon widened it was not enough that the old rituals and ceremonies should be thoroughly known. Many new things had to be added to the curriculum. Even if, when the tendency to specialised studies which now began to make its influence felt, one scholar here and there should devote himself more particularly to one aspect of mental activity he would, none the less, be expected to know adequately all other departments of knowledge, as he might at any time be called upon to teach them, for the aim in producing the ideal teacher, as well as the ideal statesman and the ideal citizen, was to produce a master who could touch life intelligently at all its points. This naturally became increasingly difficult as time went on.

With the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) we are on surer ground. By this time educational institutions had multiplied in number and diversity. The three founders of the dynasty were renowned, even in their own time, for their erudition, and one of them at least for his inventive power. In their hands the old tradition was shaped so as to show government, science, philosophy and general culture, framed in an era of great refinement and culture. This again provides a parallel with ancient Greece, for in that Mediterranean land too, the age of heroes was passing into the period when the ordinary man could expect to discuss, in the various retreats of the philosophers, the problems of nature and of life.

Soon the Chou dynasty began to provide a wider system of education. Where hitherto the privilege of general training had been confined to the classes which might eventually reach the seat of government, it was now found possible to institute a system of popular education. Down to republican times the Chou system of education has been referred to by most Chinese writers in terms of deep admiration and respect. It was not only the best that China had ever produced, it was also the best the world had seen.

China was still, be it remembered, feudal. There were therefore, under the Central Administration, many States each with its own prince. It was not only in the central capital that schools were to be found, but they were also in vigorous life in the various cities of the feudal states.

According to the traditional history, in the feudal states during this dynasty each hamlet had study halls, each village had a school called *hsiang* or *hsu*, each district had a larger school, and each department of a state had a college. It was customary in this dynasty for the people on their way to work in the fields in the morning to call in at the school and receive instruction, also in the evening on their way home they were again instructed. Teachers remained at work in these halls of learning until they reached the age of 70, at which time they retired from public service. The subjects taught were still much the same as they had been in the earlier dynasties. There were, of course, special subjects taught to princes and the sons of nobles and officers, to fit them for their special duties at court. But all students were given training in ethical philosophy, in personal morality, in poetry, mathematics, chariot driving,

archery, and in various other arts necessary and useful in these times. More especially, as set out in the "Book of Rites", was emphasis laid on the six virtues, the six praiseworthy actions and the six arts. The six virtues are : Wisdom, benevolence, goodness, righteousness, loyalty and harmony. The six praiseworthy actions are : Honouring one's parents, showing friendliness to brothers, being neighbourly, maintaining cordial relationship with relatives by marriage, being trustful and showing sympathy. The six arts are : Rituals, music, archery, chariot driving, writing and mathematics. A liberal education includes five kinds of ritual, five types of music, five methods of archery, five ways of chariot driving, six divisions of writing and nine operations of mathematics. Thus training was moral, physical and intellectual, closely related to the actual life of the time so that, in the Chinese phrase, "he who had mastered its many aspects would be a complete man". The Western classicist will see in this scheme a combination of the educational ideals of both Sparta and Athens, wherein the harshness of the Spartans was softened by the humanities of Athens and the tendency to softness of the Athenian school hardened and sharpened by Spartan severity.

In a section of the "Book of Rites" we are given the curriculum of a boy under the Chou system. At six years of age a child is taught numbers, the names of the points of the compass, and that is all. At seven years of age boys and girls neither sit on the same mat nor eat together. From eight years of age onward children must follow older persons in entering or leaving the house, in sitting upon the mat and in eating and drinking. Thus they begin to be taught to show deference to their elders and to give precedence to others. At nine years of age the boy is taught to distinguish the days of the moon and the names of the days in the cycle of sixty. At ten years of age boys go out from the house and begin to engage in outside occupations. They live for some time away from home in order to study writing and mathematics. In the morning and in the evening they study the practices and habits of children of their own age. They ask questions of their elders and they trace characters on tablets of bamboo and learn to pronounce the characters they have written. At thirteen years of age they study music ; they read aloud songs in verse. When they have reached fifteen years their studies include dancing, archery and chariot driving. At twenty years a young man becomes of age. He then begins to study the rituals. He can now wear clothing made of fur and pure silk. He now practises filial piety and fraternal love and he extends his acquaintance. He keeps to himself and does not in any way push himself forward. At thirty he marries ; he extends his studies even as he cultivates his fields and fulfils all his duties towards the State. At forty he enters public office of the second order and, according to the nature of affairs, he expresses opinions and makes his observations upon them. If the orders of his superiors conform to the good rules he has learned then he fulfils his duty and obeys. If they do not so conform he withdraws from public service. At fifty he becomes prefect and enters upon the offices of the first order. At sixty he retires from public affairs.

We can now turn to the Chou system of dealing with girls. A girl at the age of ten no longer goes out of the house. (This rule must have referred to girls of the upper classes, for in Chou times, as at the present day, the poorer people did, in fact, mix at all stages of life in the work of the fields.) The main teaching for her is to learn politeness and modesty, to listen and to obey. The

girl occupies herself with hemp and silk and in weaving. She makes clothing and supervises the family sacrifices. She brings the wine, the baskets and the earthenware vessels. She brings also the minced meats. In the performance of rites, she helps to place the objects to be offered on the altar. At fifteen, if she is betrothed, she pins up her hair. At twenty she marries. If at this time she loses one or other of her parents, she postpones her marriage until she is twenty-three. From this point onward the "Book of Rites" is silent as to the training of women. It would appear that girls were not given instruction in reading, writing or mathematics. The whole emphasis was, of course, on preparing those who would eventually occupy official positions, and as women were debarred from public life they would normally have no use for such subjects. They were, however, trained by precept as well as example in all matters pertaining to ritual and ceremony. It was recognised that women's sphere was largely circumscribed by the nature of the life and social order of the time and that her sphere was the home, whereas the males would not only be called upon to undertake the art of government but to carry the burdens of interprovincial communication and trade. There were, of course, special places for training such females as might be needed for palace duties and these received special instruction in morals, conversation, manners and palace work.

Two chapters in particular of "Li Chi" are of special interest to modern readers, as they show that the early founders of the Chinese educational system recognised that education was a process of development of the individual from within. In these two sections it is laid down that study should proceed from the easy to the difficult, from the coarse to the fine, that transition from one grade to another should not be sudden but steady, and that great things should be accomplished through the accumulation of many small things. Attention should be concentrated upon one thing at a time to prevent the scattering of one's thoughts. In putting forth the effort to learn, the student should be encouraged to exert his own powers and thus his spirit of independence will be fully developed. Confucius says, "Learning without thought is to lose one's labour. If one learns only by memory and does not think, everything remains dark." On the matter of reliance upon oneself Confucius says: "I do not teach until the students desire to know, and I do not help until the students need it. If of the four corners of a thing I have shown and explained one corner and the students do not find for themselves the other three, I do not explain further." Mencius, discussing early methods of education, says: "The moral man teaches in five ways: one, he influences some as timely rain influences the earth; two, with some he makes perfect their virtues; three, with some he develops their talents; four, with some he merely answers questions; five, with some he teaches privately."

Under the Chou dynasty admission to colleges was based upon merit, and this merit was determined by examination. The qualifications sought in such examination were general virtue, ability in managing public affairs, and ease of self-expression. Students were examined every second year. In the first year the ability of the student in analysing ancient classics and in setting forth the aim and purpose of life was tested. In the third year an examination was given to test his perseverance in study and his general sociability. In the fifth year he was tested as to the extent and depth of his learning. In the seventh year he was tested as to the use he made of his acquired knowledge. When a student had satisfactorily passed all these tests he was said to have reached the lower

perfection. In the ninth year an examination was held to discover whether the student was able to classify things in their proper categories, whether he understood things thoroughly, was independent in thought, and was strong enough morally to withstand all evil influence. If he satisfactorily withstood this test he was said to have reached the higher perfection.

It seems fairly clear that there was in existence under the Chou a system of promotion from one grade of school or college to another. Thus we are told that students who distinguished themselves in the village schools were sent to district schools, and those who distinguished themselves in the district schools were sent to the colleges in the department. Finally, those who distinguished themselves in the departmental colleges were sent on to the colleges in the capital city of the feudal princes, and the best of these were sent to the colleges of the Imperial capital. This became the basis of preferment which lasted down to modern times.

We lack many details as to the conduct of these ancient institutions of learning, but a fair inference from the writings which have come down to us is that the terms of study corresponded roughly with the four seasons of the year. But this, no doubt, was governed largely by the agricultural nature of the national economy, for at certain periods of the year the efforts of the whole family would be needed for work on the land. We have no data therefore to enable us to determine the length of the school term, though for many people it would appear that the period before and after the pressure of the sowing and reaping seasons would be that most readily available for instruction. Generally speaking, in spring and summer students practised archery and learned various kinds of dances and recited songs. In autumn they learned rituals, and in winter they learned especially reading and writing. An ancient record gives us this information: "When the plough has been placed under shelter, when the harvest has been taken in and the work of the year is done, all the young men not yet married go to school. At the winter solstice they leave the school for forty-five days in order to prepare for work on the land."

III. THE DECADENCE

In Chou Li we read of officers charged with the duty of running the existing educational institutions and of teachers there. These were run at the public expense. The teaching of rituals and the various dances was under the supervision of the directors of music. The director of studies supervised the institution in reading and writing. These were normal duties, but in special circumstances they overlapped and instructors were occasionally interchangeable. There were special instructors and conservators, who taught the young the different virtues, principles of conduct, and the six arts. There were also preceptors, who inspected the schools and colleges and took part in the general guidance of students. In the same work we read that one feudal state had six departmental colleges, thirty district schools, one hundred and fifty village schools, and, in addition, three thousand other schools in small villages and hamlets. We read in *T'ung Chien Kang Mu* that the number of feudal states early in the Chou dynasty was seventy. Thus it becomes obvious that educational institutions and schools were widespread three thousand years ago.

As stated above, every three years each department held an examination under the direction of officers who had reached seniority, so as to select capable and virtuous men to assume government responsibilities. Those who distinguished themselves in the examinations of the departmental colleges were called *Hsiu Shih* (which means "flourishing scholar"), progressing steadily until they reached the college of the capital city, the best scholars who there distinguished themselves were called *Chin Shih* (which means "promoted scholar"). Such men were elected to the higher offices of state. All such appointments were confirmed by the sovereign, who also received periodical reports as to the selection of meritorious men as well as of official appointments.

In the 8th century B.C. the Chou dynasty began its long decline. This was due to the insubordination of the feudal princes and the consequent numerous feudal struggles which resulted. Imperial supremacy was no longer respected, although it was not openly challenged. In these troublous times education declined and the continual faction struggles made the education of the people an impossible task. Administrative posts from this time descended by inheritance and not by merit. This state of affairs reached its climax shortly before the birth of Confucius, in the middle of the 6th century B.C., and the great teacher set himself to restore the ancient glories of early Chou. This fact explains the constant insistence throughout the Confucian Canon on the excellencies of the early Chou period. Confucius believed that the decadence, if not stopped, would lead to the ultimate disorder; more, he wished not merely to put an end to the decadence, but to revivify the people with the spirit which had animated the sages of antiquity.

Confucius, however, like Plato in the West, was doomed to disillusionment. His efforts were disregarded by those who should have been the first to help. He set himself, in his old age, to the editing of the ancient records and to the setting forth of the principles which he felt had been transmitted from the earliest times for the benefit of succeeding generations. Although in his lifetime he did not succeed in attracting the people to his views, he did, in fact, prepare the ground-work on which the Chinese educational system was to rest throughout succeeding generations. The Four Books and the Five Classics as we now have them are, we are assured, substantially as they were prepared by Confucius in his later years.

In the middle of the 4th century B.C., Mencius, commonly called the Second Sage, renewed and reinvigorated the teachings of Confucius. He was a less gentle spirit than the master he loved so well, and in forceful language he drove home his points in the seven books which now bear his name. He demanded from the feudal rulers the re-establishment of higher and lower institutions of learning, and was bitterly antagonistic to the principle of inherited office. He declared that this practice was responsible for the disorganisation into which the government of his time had fallen. Mencius, like his predecessor, had little or no success with the princes upon whom he called, but many who refused to follow his lead admired his blunt sincerity and his forthright condemnation. He did, however, exert great influence among the people, who were already almost ripe for revolt against current conditions. Before his death he saw the revival of the ancient educational system, and although it was far from being the comprehensive instrument it had been in the earlier days, it was

showing vigorous signs of new life. In the middle of the 3rd century B.C., there was already a body of powerful men devoted to the cause of education. This, however, was the time of China's great literary catastrophe.

The prince at the head of the state of Ch'in, strategically well situated for aggressive sorties of a military nature, conceived the idea of the unification of China by a series of conquests of the other kingdoms. He had all the dictator's megalomania, and decided that the history of China should begin with him. He therefore assumed the title Shih Huang Ti ("First Emperor") and issued an edict calling for the destruction of all ancient records excepting those concerned with medicine, divination, and husbandry. He was met with severe obstruction at the hands of scholars, which infuriated him the more. Numerous ancient works were destroyed, but many were hidden in hollow walls, buried, or otherwise stored away where they could not be found by searching officers. This totalitarian interlude lasted some forty years, to be succeeded by one of the most glorious periods of Chinese history, the famous Han dynasty.

Even during the period of decadence, however, there were schools, although these were not so numerous, nor so well organised, as formerly. We read, for example, that Confucius distinguished himself at school, where he stayed until he was seventeen. In the later years of his life Confucius himself established a school on the bank of the Chu River. It is said that more than 3,000 pupils attended the school, of whom 72 became distinguished scholars. We read also that Mencius, as a child, suffered from the neighbourhood in which he at first lived, and that eventually his mother, realising that the environment in which her son played was proving harmful to his behaviour, moved to the shadow of a school where he would have worthy examples to copy. The main difference during this period was that the various schools were without government supervision and state aid and had become merely private institutions. It was this fact which led Mencius to make his impassioned plea that the Government should re-establish the ancient educational institutions and supervise the instruction given.

This period of decadence was also a period of transition from the more limited earlier curriculum to the later one of post-Confucium times. From the time of the formation of the Confucian Canon Chinese education became more definitely literary, with the consequent neglect of the physical side, e.g., archery, but the period immediately following Confucius is one of the most distinguished in Chinese philosophy and history. Almost overnight numbers of philosophers appeared as if, indeed, the single torch lighted by Confucius had started a conflagration. Lao Tzu, Mo Tzu, Yang Chu, Hsun Kuang, Kuei Ku Tzu, Kuan Tzu, Han Fei Tzu, and others all formulated systems of philosophy which were intended to show the way of life for the State or for the individual, or for both. This period is generally known to Western scholars as the Period of the Philosophers.

The Western reader will find wherever he reads in these voluminous writings a startling modernity of tone. If he listens carefully to the pronouncements of leading Chinese representatives at Foreign Conferences he will find many an echo of these ancient works, yet these things merely tend to show that China's many-sided experience in her long history has a solution for the problems of the present-day world. From among all these thinkers Confucius stands out,

pre-eminent for his depth of insight into human nature and its working. His appreciation of the manifold character of man is nowhere else paralleled in the writings of the world. At about this time, too, education received a strong stimulus in the invention of the writing brush, which, dipped in ink, made writing a very much easier and simpler affair than it had been with the old bamboo tablet and stylus. Books became more portable, as they were written on strips of cloth or silk. A new standardised form of the written character was introduced, named after the Prime Minister of the First Emperor. This meant the transcription of many of the old books into the new style of writing, and as the earlier outlines were not always clear or readily understood by the scribes, many incorrect transcriptions were made and these resulted in variant texts appearing at different stages during the succeeding centuries.

One proof that the anti-Confucian edicts of the First Emperor did not banish education from the scene, as has frequently been asserted, is found in Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu. Lu Pu Wei was a Minister of the First Emperor until 335 B.C., and he spent much treasure and labour in the search for ancient documents. When these had been assembled he collected, or caused to be collected, extracts from them, which were put together in the book Lu Shih Ch'un Ch'iu. This is a valuable record since many of the originals from which it was compiled have not come down to our day.

Even in this period of decadence there was attached to the Imperial Court a body of scholars known as Po Shih, who were custodians of all the ancient books in the Imperial Library. These scholars were thoroughly acquainted with all the contents of these works. The effect of the First Emperor's edict was to crush the *Confucian* scholars who had ventured to criticise his regime, rather than to demolish learning and education altogether. But it must be stated that the old system of popular and higher education was now a thing of the past and the future system was to differ widely in its nature and effects.

IV. THE HAN DYNASTY

With the setting up of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 221) we reach a most remarkable period of cultural development. There was an extensive revival of learning which began as soon as the new dynasty had set the country into a state of reasonable peacefulness. The founder of the dynasty, Liu Pang, showed a special consideration to the literati. The edict of the First Emperor, forbidding the reading and teaching of the Confucian classics, was revoked and special commissions roamed the country seeking out manuscripts so that the texts might be restored. Many copies of the Confucian writings were recovered from their hiding places, committees were appointed to edit the texts so found and everywhere great efforts were exerted to repair the loss and damage sustained by both literature and education at the hands of the First Emperor.

At this time began the famous Han recension of the Confucian classics, which was to hold the field until the 12th century. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of the work performed by the Han scholars, for undoubtedly it is due to their efforts that the Confucian Canon has exercised so deep and lasting an influence over the minds of the Chinese people. Moreover, in the middle of this period of the revival of learning, the art of making paper from

the inner bark of trees was discovered by Tsai Lun. The combination of this new discovery with the art of writing characters with the camel-hair brush, also recently discovered, enabled the spread of education and learning to proceed apace. Perhaps the greatest influence of the Han period was the adoption by the new dynasty of the Confucian teaching as a State philosophy, determining the policy of the Government and forming the moral and intellectual standard for the examination system. By this means it was ensured that all who attained high rank in the Government services were profound Confucian scholars.

In this dynasty, too, hereditary rank in perpetuity was conferred upon the senior male descendants of Confucius, and this has continued in unbroken succession down to the present day. Perhaps it may be pointed out that this was in one sense a retrograde step in that Chinese education became less liberal than it had been. With the official examinations calling for experts in the Confucian Canon alone other studies were pursued only at the discretion of individual students. There is a parallel to this limitation of form in the insistence on the Ciceronian style and tradition in the development of European education. While even to-day it is not perhaps realised by many writers that they are still under the domination of Ciceronian Latin, it may be said that the Chinese of succeeding dynasties were often only too well aware of the cramping effect of the confining of their studies to the Confucian Canon and Chou models of literary style.*

The study of Confucian classics thus became a fixed habit. The tendency to regard everything from the point of view of the early sages inhibited the development of thought, and to a certain extent fossilised the processes of education. No attempt was made to break away from the earlier tradition ; it would appear that the most that was sought was not to fall too far short of it. One effect of this is seen in the scant attention paid to philosophers who instituted rival systems, so that out of ten leading schools in the four centuries between 600–200 B.C., only one survived in any real sense, having secured imperial and government patronage. Those four centuries were a period of great flowering of the Chinese genius, and even to-day many readers can point with pride to the fact that the answer to many of our modern problems lies in the writings of these early thinkers.

During the Han dynasty candidates for public office were not all selected from the colleges, as had been the case during the age of feudalism. Sometimes candidates continued to be drawn from the colleges ; again, they were selected and recommended by magistrates or prefects. In other cases candidates for higher office were selected from officials holding inferior positions. Local officials were generally given the power to select their own assistants and subordinates. It is true, however, that candidates selected and recommended by magistrates and prefects usually had to undergo examination, and only in special circumstances were they given office without examination.

As the Han dynasty entered its fourth century, recommendation by prefects and magistrates became more common. It is said in the writings of the time

* This is not intended to depreciate either Ciceronian Latin or Chou Chinese. Both were in their way excellent, and for their time, superb. But there were other styles of Latin and Chinese and these should be given equal study.

that all those possessing virtue and ability found no difficulty in securing office and thus making use of the special qualities which they possessed. It is fair to say that the Han dynasty method of selection and preferment of qualified scholars was so effective that it has never been surpassed by later generations. The reorganisation of educational institutions on a regular basis dates from the reign of the Emperor Wu (140–86 B.C.). At this time a great scholar named Tung Chung-shu, who boldly condemned the inheritance of official positions, persuaded the emperor to build in his capital a university for the training of men capable of filling high administrative office. He also created professors of the Five Classics. Local officials throughout the empire were commanded to search for men of good moral character, well informed in the knowledge of ritual and ceremonial, and send them to the Board of Rites, so that they might be sent to the university for a period of study. Several names at this period appeared in different parts of the empire as those of enlightened officers who, of their own initiative, organised colleges, created professorships, set up examinations, and encouraged the study of the classics. The imperial university was rebuilt and repaired at various times during the later years of the Han dynasty, and on one occasion it was much enlarged so that it might accommodate the rapidly increasing number of pupils. Towards the end of the Han dynasty, however, a new persecution of the scholars began, and the brilliant Han dynasty tottered to its fall. There is even in the Han dynasty an echo of the monitor and pupil-teacher system. Famous scholars like Ma Yung, Cheng Hsuan and the Tung Chung-shu already mentioned, sat in the Lecture Hall to answer queries of advanced students and to give explanations of *cruces* in the Confucian Canon. When they had thus received the answers to their questions they, in their turn, went off to teach those who were less advanced.

V. THE T'ANG DYNASTY

From the end of the Han dynasty to the end of the sixth century A.D., China was the scene of constant wars and insurrections. This is one of the dark ages of China, and nothing of any importance in the development of education occurred until the new period of renaissance, often compared in its brilliance with the Han dynasty, was reached in the early seventh century. During this period of unrest the principles of the Confucian classics were not regularly followed in the determination of government policy. The hold of the classics and the officials was everywhere weakening. There were several hostile influences at work, e.g., the eunuchs at court striving for position, the rise of Taoist influence, and the growing number of the followers of Buddhism, which had made great progress since its introduction in the first century A.D. Men were selected, often on insufficient grounds, to occupy posts of great importance, and in many cases these posts descended by inheritance to the sons of the former holders. Thus, before the end of the dark ages, the system of "office by inheritance" was, to all intents and purposes, restored. Shortly before the founding of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 620, China had once more put her house in order and become a united empire. In spite of occasional disorders and rebellions the new dynasty presented generally a picture of peace, prosperity and progress. The traditional memory of the T'ang dynasty is one of wealth, culture and refinement, with the vigorous development of history, literature, poetry and painting. The early emperors of the dynasty gave themselves to the fostering

of educational institutions and, under their patronage, colleges and universities developed rapidly. During this dynasty neighbouring countries, notably Japan and Korea, began the practice of sending students to China for their education.

It is perhaps not too much to say that the T'ang dynasty shows us the most complete system of schools, colleges and universities ever seen in China. The Imperial capital was the recognised centre of culture and six major universities were to be found there. Colleges of Law, Calligraphy, Mathematics, Ritual, Ceremonial, Literature and the Arts kept their students down to a small number in order that those who succeeded in carrying off the highest degrees were all-round scholars, able to withstand the most severe competition. There were special colleges for classical students and for those who wished to take the senior degree.

Public schools were maintained in prefectures, departments and districts, and even each village had its school. In all these institutes of learning, which were state founded and state supported, as well as in the numerous private schools, the Confucian Canon formed the basis of the curriculum. Ma Tuan-lin, the famous historian, and other writers provide detailed information concerning the methods of teaching and the books studied throughout the empire at this time. From these works we can get a clear picture of the examination system and that of the promotion of students. Prefects sent to the capital universities the outstanding pupils of their own schools, and also candidates outside the school who had been successful in the competitive examinations.

Persons of great ability were specially watched and, provided studies and examination results were satisfactory, they were forwarded, with the minimum of expense and trouble to themselves, to the highest of the capital institutions. There were numerous degrees to mark the state of the student's progress. Candidates for the lowest degree (frequently equated with our B.A.) had to answer satisfactorily papers calling for an interpretation of selected passages in the Confucian Canon, and to write independent compositions on some chosen subject bearing relation to current events. Other degrees demanded a greater degree of individual ability and those who entered for law degrees had to analyse logically articles from law, treatises and passages from the imperial statutes. It is clear from the figures given that the examination standard was very high, as the reports for successive years in this dynasty show that the number of successful candidates was usually quite small.

In the 8th century was instituted the well-known Han Lin Yuan, or Imperial Academy. This was attached to the court of the Emperor, and the body of instructors attached as permanent teachers had, as its main duty, the explanation of difficulties encountered throughout Chinese literature. From this time forth this academy furnished almost all imperial historians and directors of public education throughout the empire, as well as the examiners delegated to preside at the competitive examinations.

But once more the scholars were to undergo persecution. In the middle of the 8th century Taoism returned to favour, being vigorously espoused by the luxurious Emperor Hsuan Tsung. Apart from the fact that Taoism was much more colourful than Confucianism, and thus appealed to the artistic nature of the Emperor, it held out, as Confucianism did not, a hope of immortality to be secured by swallowing the elixir of eternal life. Confucian scholars

and their institutions were neglected, and new colleges bearing the special name of Chung Huan Hsu, specially devoted to Taoist studies, were set up. The works passing under the names of Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, Lieh Tzu, and Wen Tzu were elevated to the first position. Taoist professors were given a rank equal to that of the professors of the Imperial College, but, in fact, they enjoyed special privileges which enabled them to triumph over their colleagues. Examinations in the Taoist Canon were held side by side with those established for Confucian studies many centuries earlier. With the death of Hsuan Tsung, however, these innovations perished, but although the earlier educational institutions were restored to their former lofty position, and studies recommenced upon the old foundations, it was some time before the situation of former days was recovered. For one thing, the authorities were frequently in arrears with the stipend of university professors and these could not therefore devote their full time to university duties. Thus all colleges and lower institutions frequently taught almost on an honorary basis, tilling the soil for their livelihood. Under the growing power of the eunuchs abuses crept in among the examiners and many degrees were improperly awarded.

This was only one of the many signs that the T'ang dynasty was nearing its collapse. Insurrections were becoming more frequent, and discontent among the people reached dangerous proportions. Several changes were made in an attempt to bring about desired reforms in the faulty education-cum-examination system, but all except one were circumvented in one way or another; the transfer of the conduct of examinations from the Ministry of Civil Offices to the Ministry of Rites. This was a step in the direction of restoration of the ancient order. The Ministry of Civil Offices was, however, still able to present candidates for offices in the administration, and as some resentment was felt at the transfer of the main responsibility to the Ministry of Rites, these two bodies did not work harmoniously together. There was also a system for rewarding officers of lower rank for their services by appointing them to senior offices without prior examination as to their fitness to discharge such duties, so that it came about that candidates submitted by one ministry were not appointed owing to objections raised by another. Sons of officers experienced little difficulty in entering the Imperial College, and thus the hereditary principle, so frequently objected to by China's best thinkers, was perpetuated.

In the 8th century there was a special demand at different periods for men with highly specialised knowledge to lead the ruler in the administration of the state. The T'ang rulers were preoccupied with so many cultural and artistic activities that they were much more inclined to depute the business of government to trusted ministers of state than their predecessors in earlier dynasties had been. There was, of course, a precedent for the selection of such men to be near the sovereign, that of the Han dynasty. A special watch was kept for such young students as showed precocity and promise. Special competitive examinations weeded out the best in each section, and the examinations for civil and military officials were divided. In the same period special colleges for training in medicine were instituted, and distinctive degrees for proficiency were granted. In this period, too, came the supreme institution of Chinese education; the election of the "Triple First", bearing the honoured title of *Chuang Yuan*. This title has given much trouble to Western scholars of Chinese, and is usually translated "Senior Wrangler". It should be made clear, however, that Chuang

Yuan had a much more arduous road to travel than our Senior Wranglers, in that he had to be a continuous First, i.e., First in his district examinations, First in his provincial capital examinations, First in the capital examination, First in the doctorate examinations, and First in a series of three academy examinations. Needless to say, the list of Chuang Yuan from the T'ang dynasty down to the present day is not a very long one !

The end of the T'ang dynasty was as gloomy as its beginning had been illustrious. Contemporary writers show us an autumn of discontent deepening into a winter of despair. All the old institutions were sliding swiftly down the road to Avernus, and nothing seemed to avail to halt the descent. The Court was rent asunder by intrigue and nepotism. The land was in the grip of hunger and strife. Threats from outside the frontiers presaged war and destruction, and, in fact, the succeeding fifty or sixty years were to prove some of the most bitter and disillusioned of any in China's history. Education suffered throughout the whole period of this decline.

VI. THE SUNG DYNASTY

As always happens in Chinese history, a period of disorder was followed by one of great intellectual activity. The Sung dynasty holds a glorious position in Chinese annals. By this time the art of printing books had been long established and new techniques enabled the spread of learning to become so much easier that throughout the country there were numerous readers and books were available for all who could use them. A succession of enlightened emperors stimulated historians, classical scholars, lexicographers, poets, and archæologists to their best efforts. And there was no lack of craftsmen to make the best of the material supplied to them. There is even a special type face known as the Sung type, a very pleasing outline, making a book a thing of beauty as well as an intellectual treasure. From the time of the first of the Sung Emperors the National University in the capital city was restored to its former glory, other colleges were re-established under the second emperor. There were not wanting those scholars who, going back to the Han and T'ang dynasties for precedents, presented memorials to the Throne praying for the establishment of provincial colleges and schools. In fact, so numerous became the new educational institutions under this dynasty that students admitted to study there could not be adequately housed for lack of living accommodation in the cities and towns.

Once more the old system of establishing and maintaining a dual method of entering official life was reinstated. One could enter either through examination in the colleges of the capital or through success in provincial competitive examinations. Some of the old grading statutes were re-established and students were passed through a steady system of promotion from one grade to another. Early in the 12th century the illustrious Sung Emperor, Hui Tsung, created schools giving instruction in four special sciences, namely, mathematics, medicine, painting and calligraphy. In *Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao* we have detailed curricula of studies as followed in these four schools. Although at first such schools were only to be found in the capital, it was not long before they were set up in the provinces also.

About halfway through the 12th century we find the text of an Imperial Decree recording the fact that high inspectors of studies were attached to each province as well as to each district, and that under Imperial order land was appropriated for the maintenance of colleges. It would appear, however, from a close reading of contemporary literature, that in spite of all these varied grants and subsidy from the Imperial Treasury the resources of these educational institutions were far below the needs of the increasingly large numbers of students admitted. Professors no longer had the right to nominate graduates for office, but promotion was now regularly made by means of competitive examinations alone.

Under the Sung the system of competitive examinations was the more developed on account of its use, and, in fact, necessity, for the purpose of providing good officials for the State Services. A great variety of higher examinations came into existence. The control of these examinations still remained in the hands of the Ministry of Rites, which fixed the differing conditions governing the examination of *Chin Shih* (Doctorate) and other high degrees up to that of *Chuang Yuan* (Senior Wrangler). The *Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao* tells us that the requirements were similar to those prevailing under the T'ang dynasty, except that greater importance was given to skill in poetry in the examination for the Doctorate. From this time, therefore, the doctors were better equipped for the literary work of the Han Lin Academy than they were to hold office in the country's civil administration.

It was during the Sung dynasty that the system of examinations was unified, more strict rules being adopted to prevent any kind of fraud. None the less, studies in these institutions had begun to turn away from the aim which Confucius had had. In the words of Ma Tuan-lin, "the government no longer occupies itself with the perfecting of the morality of the people through the knowledge of the ancient rituals."

The Sung dynasty is also noted for a new growth of philosophical effort which exerted a powerful influence over the later history of Chinese education. It has already been noted that the Han scholars occupied themselves principally with the original text of the ancient classics and prepared the first comprehensive commentaries on the texts. This work of commenting on the actual words, phrase by phrase, of the Confucian Canon first confined itself to elaborating the meaning of the texts. Each scholar held firmly to his own interpretation and handed down his ideas to his school. Although this work continued through all the centuries between Han and Sung, no outstanding deviation from the Han interpretation had appeared by the time the Sung philosophers busied themselves with a detailed investigation of what the Han scholars had thought and written. Another disturbing influence had arisen in the intervening years, namely, Buddhism, and during the late T'ang and early Sung periods there were scholars who began to challenge the ancient interpretation. Although most of these scholars were traditional Confucianists, it is obvious from their writings that they had developed a new attitude to the ancient classics through their reading of the speculations of Buddhist and Taoist writers; taking care to follow neither of these two schools, they none the less allowed the influence of their teachings to reach a point where they could challenge the traditionally accepted interpretation of the Confucian Canon.

For example, one of these two non-Confucian schools believes that mind is the only reality and matter a deceptive figment of the imagination. The other school maintains that matter is the one true essence and that mind is but one of its products. Each school taught a species of monism. The thinkers of the Sung dynasty, however, made the best of both possible worlds. They boldly took up their stand on the assertion of a dualism in nature. They made of *Li* and *Ch'i*, that is, force and matter, the original principles of the universe. It is not surprising to find that those who are best versed in Chinese philosophy assert that the speculations of Chinese thinkers of the Sung period have, in more than one direction, anticipated the teachings of modern science.

The great names of Sung philosophy are Chou Tun-i, Chao Yung, Cheng Hao, Cheng I, Chang Tsai, Liu Chiu-yuan and Chu Hsi. It is the last of these who exerted the greatest influence over education down to the time of the Republic, although among the others named are found the leaders of the new Confucian school. Chu Hsi was a voluminous writer. He not only revised the great history of Ssu-ma Kuang, he became the prince of all commentators on the Confucian Canon. No scholar henceforward would read any but the Chu Hsi recension of the Confucian classics. As H. A. Giles said: "He introduced interpretations either wholly or partly at variance with those which had been put forth by the scholars of the Han dynasty and had hitherto been received as infallible, thus modifying to a certain extent the prevailing standards of political and social morality. His guiding principle was merely one of consistency. He refused to interpret words in a given passage in one sense and the same words occurring elsewhere in another sense. The effect of this apparently obvious method was magical, and from that date the teachings of Confucius have been universally understood in the way in which Chu Hsi said they ought to be understood."

The Sung period also produced another great figure who might have had almost equal influence on the education of the time. This was Wang An-shih, commonly known as "The Reformer". This remarkable man, who lived from 1021-1086, made a new interpretation of some parts of the Confucian Canon as a measure of justification for his radical measures of reform. Another of his innovations was the reformation of the examination system. He would require from aspiring candidates not so much grace of style as a wide acquaintance with practical subjects. He made it his boast that he was a never-weary reader of all kinds of books even taking up ancient medical and botanical works. He claimed that works on agriculture and even needlework had proved very profitable in helping him to seize the underlying pattern of the great Canon. He lived to see most of his reforms passed into law, but when he fell into disfavour at Court, one by one his innovations were thrown overboard, and before he died he saw the reversal of all he had lived to achieve. Even his commentary on the great Confucian Canon was suppressed. The Sung dynasty, as it headed towards its close, had to yield up part of the Northern territory of China to two Tartar peoples, the Liaos and the Chins. These, following the lead of the Sung in the South, established colleges and examination halls in the Northern Provinces. They restored the competitive examinations, with special reference to proficiency in Chinese literature, for the selection of men to fill the vacant posts in the conquered provinces. The classics were translated into their own tongue and parallel interlinear editions were used in the schools.

The Chinese degree system was adopted, whether in the native tongue or in Chinese. They instituted colleges and examinations in law and medicine, not only in the conquered territory, but in their own kingdoms. In the middle of the twelfth century, too late, alas, to save the dynasty, Kao Tsung remembered that military skill might be an important subject of study, and he sanctioned the establishment of a military school in the capital. Towards the end of the century military degrees, based on those given to civil officers, were given to Chinese army students.

VII. THE MONGOL DYNASTY

In the beginning of the 13th century the Mongols turned their armies against their former allies and in an astonishingly short space of time they secured the throne. The Mongols were fierce nomads unused to life in civilised cities, and at first they showed little taste for Chinese culture and the Chinese way of life. Towards the end of the 13th century, however, Kublai enlisted the aid of a Tibetan Prince, Bashpa, for the construction of an alphabet, so that the Mongol language might be written. He also caused the Chinese calendar to be revised and the National University to be opened. Later, the examination system was re-established, both in the capital and in the provinces. The Confucian Canon was by 1300 translated into the Mongol tongue, and for some thirty years Chinese and Mongols were appointed in equal numbers to high civil offices. In 1335, however, Chun Ti suppressed the literary competitive examinations and awarded all offices to Mongols. Discontent was so great and made itself so powerfully felt that five years later the same emperor was forced to re-establish the examination system, and to maintain it to the end of his far from comfortable reign. Under the Mongols the three sciences which were particularly developed were medicine, divination and astronomy. When the Mongol public school system was at its best it had two series of schools, one in the capital and one in the provinces. In the capital also there were three national universities, one for the Chinese, one for the Mongols, and one for the Moslems. Throughout the provinces educational institutions on the same basis as that followed by earlier dynasties were maintained at public expense. In addition, schools were found everywhere for the study of the Mongolian language. One report dating from the middle of this dynasty, gives the total number of schools in the country as over 24,000. This is probably an over-statement, as many of the schools had merely a nominal existence and, in any event, the decrees of the successive emperors were frequently not carried out. There was no conviction behind the educational policy of the Mongols. It was a mere concession to the conquered Chinese in order to gain their confidence and support.

It is curious that this somewhat barren period should have given one man to education whose name has been familiar through six centuries of students. This was Wang Ying-lin. He had felt himself the need for an introductory primer to the comprehensive studies which faced the budding scholar, and he wrote for the benefit of schoolboys the *San Tzu Ching*, commonly called in the West "The Three Character Classic" (see Classics Pamphlet). This work gives in elementary form, in rhymed lines of three characters each, a summary of Confucian principles of morality, of geography, of history, of physical and natural sciences. It is a juvenile compendium of general knowledge such as will

prepare the young student for the more detailed studies he must later undertake. When the student has learned this little book by heart he is in possession of some 500 different Chinese characters.

VIII. THE MING DYNASTY

The Chinese were overjoyed with the throwing out of the invader and the restoration of a truly Chinese dynasty. The natural result was that all the arts flourished and the truly representative Chinese institutions were everywhere restored. The emperors themselves, knowing well the temper of the people, became liberal patrons of the arts, literature and education. The founder of the dynasty lost no time, and during the first years of his reign he established several decrees organising anew the National University, colleges and schools in the provinces, and re-establishing on the traditional basis the examination system. Professorship and doctorate titles were determined, and he drew up statements as to the number of students to be admitted to each institution. He further fixed the subsidy to be given to students, the courses of study, the daily curriculum, and the various types of examinations. As he himself was an ardent student of antiquity he restored the study of military arts and mathematics to the curriculum.

The Ming period thus began with a wider curriculum than had been known since the Chou dynasty. Classical studies were given their old importance, and this combination of civil and military studies in the one curriculum seemed at first to be too much for the majority of students. This is perhaps readily understandable, as many of the officers had little or no interest in military studies, and preferred to confine their education to those peaceful arts which would secure for them high administrative office. In the course of time the examinations reverted to their more recent purely literary character, although for some time there was a strenuous attempt to make all students practise archery.

As the dynasty developed schools were established in the prefectures and districts throughout the empire for the encouragement of education as a special study, and the training of scholars not merely for State positions but also for the teaching profession. Students came from as far afield as Korea, Japan, Siam, Burma and India. These foreign students had special quarters in the Imperial College. The Emperor Hung Wu issued an edict calling all the schools in the provinces to recommend graduates for entry to the capital university. At a later date the Emperor Yung Lo specially appointed officers to supervise education in the provinces. He also established military schools in Peking and Nanking. The frontier garrisons even were not neglected, and military schools were established for the training of their personnel. It was under this emperor that the world's greatest literary achievement was seen. This was the compilation of a universal encyclopædia, which was to contain all that had ever been written in the four departments :

1. The Confucian Canon.
2. History.
3. Philosophy.
4. General literature.

This last including astronomy, geography, cosmogony, medicine, divination, Buddhism and Taoism, handicrafts and arts.

This work was the production of more than 2,000 scholars, who spent five years in the compilation. It is composed of 22,877 sections, excluding an index which occupies another 60. The whole was bound in 11,000 volumes. There were nearly 1,000,000 pages and almost 400,000,000 characters in the whole work.

The Ming dynasty was particularly distinguished for its public school system. Never before or since was there such a wide range of general and specialised schools. A complete list of these, together with their functions, would occupy as much space as this whole pamphlet.

The National University was reorganised several times during the Ming dynasty. But the general tendency was always towards the adoption and re-enforcement of the earlier complete syllabus. To a certain extent, however, it became more modern. Where beforehand it had had a general curriculum for the greater number of the students, it now divided into something approaching our modern university schools. In other words, students were now given a chance to specialise along certain lines of study. The examination system was adjusted to this change so that the different degrees would indicate more particularly the school in which pass or honours degrees had been obtained. At first there was a dearth of fully qualified candidates, so all who qualified were rapidly absorbed into the State services. The old tradition which insisted that power should only be given to those with adequate training (and so qualified to use it) was revived in all its forms. Where a man's training was general or particular he had still to know the Confucian Canon, this, as ever, forming the basis of a liberal education. There were special colleges in which the principles of Government were taught as an additional course for those who showed particular aptitude for this branch of study. There was even a school of economics, in which the student based his studies broadly on the educational tradition.

In order to supply much-needed officials it became the practice in the middle of the Ming period to take students, who had only partly qualified and who showed no signs of becoming outstanding, temporarily from their studies, and to give them a period in the Government service. After they had gained a certain measure of experience they were either promoted to specialise in one particular department of Government work or were transferred to other institutions where they might continue their studies. This system worked extremely well, for in view of the need for officials, many who could usefully occupy subordinate posts were found adequate to the task, while others who, because of the necessities of the situation, had been kept in such posts below their abilities, were enabled to go higher. Through all this period there were, of course, private schools as well as those supported by the State. There were also students who, by virtue of their special qualifications, were subsidised by the Government and enabled to go through as far as their abilities would carry them. Thus students who made such progress as non-subsidised students that they gave promise of being valuable members of the community, were given examinations and, if successful, they were transferred to the ranks of State-supported students. Inspectors were appointed to go the rounds of the colleges and classify the students into three groups. The first group comprised those

qualified to enter the competitive examinations for the higher degrees, the second, those who would have to continue their studies, and the third those who merited punishment and dismissal for their waste of time and opportunity.

It should be remembered that the Ming Emperors established a special reputation for themselves in their interest in what we know as modern schools. Here the useful sciences were studied, and in the later period Jesuit scholars from the West added to purely Chinese knowledge by introducing Western science studies. The old imperial observatory in Peking, a venerable institution founded many centuries before, became the headquarters of science studies, with a staff which included distinguished names among the Roman Catholic community. Admission to the observatory and its schools was opened to the whole country. Later, however, the hereditary principle operated here as it had done in previous dynasties in other institutions. The same applies to the medical college in the capital.

As was the case in ancient Greece, medicine became a family affair and the sons of the Court Physicians were more or less automatically appointed to vacant positions in the medical college.

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty the Confucian teaching was based, throughout all the colleges and schools, on the commentary of Chu Hsi, of the Sung dynasty. The Ming dynasty, however, produced several thinkers of an independent type, who were no longer willing to take their commentaries second-hand. The outstanding name in this connection was Wang Yang-ming, with a William James type of mind, who originated the later Chinese school of pragmatism. His influence was instantaneous and very great, although in succeeding centuries he was much more read and approved in Japan (where he is called Oyomei) than in China. He based his teaching on two principles : (1) The theory that knowledge and practice must go hand in hand ; and (2) that each man must try, himself, to investigate with his own mind the principles of things in themselves, and not take his opinions ready-made from another. It would be fair to say that Wang's teaching was a mixture of our positivist and pragmatist schools.

Wang Yang-ming's influence was all the greater because of his insistence on individuality in reasoning and all other intellectual processes as well as for the application of individual standards to the phenomena of life. Human nature being what it is, each mind must work out its problems on the basis of its own nature. His great insistence was on truth to oneself. But whatever knowledge one gained by these processes must be subjected to the acid test of action. The life of contemplation must be supplemented by the life of action. From this the Ming educators developed the theory that true education is the harmonious development of individual powers. In one place in his works we read : " The nature of the child is to enjoy freedom and to fear restriction. It may be likened to a plant when it germinates. Left to itself it will grow and flourish, but interfere with it and it will die away. In instructing the child, if we stimulate his natural inclinations and make him happy in himself, there will be no end to his growth. Again, when the plant receives timely rain and the breezes of spring, then it begins to grow ; but if it suffers hard knocks and the application of frost, then it shrivels and dies. When the child is led to learn ritual this is a process which calls for movement of the body, and thus it not

only regulates his general demeanour, it also helps the circulation of the blood and strengthens the body. When he is exhorted to learn, this not only opens up his understanding, but it also helps him to express his own thoughts."

IX. THE CH'ING DYNASTY

It will have been gathered from what has been said before that China was in these later centuries heading towards the Western educational system. The influence of the Roman Catholics in the country was increasing, and the wider field open to the Chinese view, although disliked and rejected by many of the older and more conservative Confucian scholars, was welcomed by those who had felt for themselves the restricting influence of a course of study devoted almost entirely to the writings of Confucius and the commentaries thereon.

The Ming dynasty came to an end in the middle of the 17th century, when former allies of the Chinese in their wars against other frontier tribes turned on the Chinese forces and established themselves in the Northern Provinces. In 1664, the Manchus set up the Ch'ing dynasty and ascended the Dragon Throne.

The Manchu Emperors were from the first sharply aware of the deep gulf, a purely cultural one, which divided them from their new subjects. One is irresistibly reminded of the lines of Horace recording the cultural capture by the Greeks of their rude Roman conquerors. The Manchu Emperors decided that in order to secure the co-operation of their new subjects they must show themselves equally enthusiastic with the Chinese in matters of art and letters. They therefore sought from among the senior Han Lin graduates the best scholars available and appointed them Imperial tutors. The Confucian Canon was translated into Manchu and interlinear versions, Manchu and Chinese, were soon available in bookshops throughout the Empire. We have ourselves bought beautifully executed copies of the Confucian Canon with full commentary at remarkably low prices; not only so, all works which in Chinese esteem had reached a certain cultural level were speedily translated into Manchu and made available with the original Chinese text for the use of the Court. Long before the middle of the Ch'ing dynasty was reached it began to look as if the Manchus were determined, if possible, to outdo the Chinese themselves in their love of learning. In their zeal to master the hitherto strange language and culture, the early Emperors of Ch'ing caused great compilations to be made. K'ang Hsi, the second emperor of the dynasty, ordered a Board of Scholars to compile an exhaustive dictionary of the Chinese language and this, *K'ang Hsi Tzu Tien*, remains to this day the standard dictionary of the Chinese written language. Another work of the greatest value to students to appear at this time is the *P'ei Wen Yun Fu*. This is a truly remarkable work, being a gigantic literary concordance in which classical allusions and references of all periods of Chinese literature can be traced speedily to their source. The third work of great use to foreign and Chinese scholars is the *P'ien Tzu Lei P'ien*, which likewise covers the whole range of Chinese cultural effort. There are two great encyclopædias of this period, one of which has been much used in verifying references for this little book. This is *Ku Chin T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng*. This encyclopædia runs to 1,628 volumes, each of some 200 pages, and has numerous woodcut illustrations

in the text. It covers the whole range of Chinese knowledge in all branches of literature, art, science, philosophy, military and other arts, and is a comprehensive picture of what was known to the scholars of 17th century China. When it is remembered that the main impulse in producing these works was the strenuous desire of alien rulers to put themselves on a par culturally with the Chinese, it will be seen how extremely valuable these works are to those other barbarians from the West, who have in the past two centuries busied themselves in acquiring a knowledge of China, her history, her cultural institutions, and her people.

The Ch'ing Emperors took guidance from their Chinese officials as to the best means of restoring the old educational glories of the Empire. Schools of archery were again instituted and there was a wide extension of village schools throughout the country. Students were received from the Lu Chu Islands, and from many other territories beyond the borders of the Chinese Empire. Imperial Treasury funds were granted towards the cost of building new educational institutions wherever the need existed. We even read of students coming from Russia to study in Chinese universities during the reign of Yung Cheng, successor to K'ang Hsi. In the 18th century we come to a name well known to European collectors of fine porcelains, that of Ch'ien Lung. This remarkable man, who reigned for sixty years, from 1736, is said to have written nearly 30,000 poems, but such poems of his as we have seen do not show him very proficient in the art. He did, however, achieve a well-merited reputation as patron of letters and education. He ordered a new and revised edition of the thirteen classics, as well as a completely new recension of the twenty-four dynastic histories.

A word may be put in here as to the dynastic histories. At a very early date in Chinese history a Board of Historians was created, and scholars with the historical sense and adequate training were appointed members of this Board. It was their duty to record the outstanding events of each reign and to write a factual commentary on current events. These were collected during the lifetime of a dynasty, but they were not published, nor, in fact, were they seen by any except the compilers, until a new dynasty had taken over from the old one. This was to preserve the integrity of the writers so that they might make their records free of intimidation. These histories are voluminous and comprehensive, and it is seldom that one goes to them for details or verification without finding that which one seeks.

Another great achievement of this reign was the publication of the descriptive catalogue of the Imperial Library. This catalogue describes 3,460 works arranged under the four divisions of classics, history, philosophy and general literature. It is not a mere collection of titles, however, for under each title is a critical estimate of the work and its position in the general cultural scheme. This catalogue is still used to-day for its great value as a critical guide to the student of Chinese literature as a whole. During the same reign the establishment of provincial colleges was widely extended.

Thus the early emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty showed unusual wisdom in leaving Chinese officials in control of the civil administration, in co-operating with them and in fitting themselves to take their places among the most highly esteemed in Chinese history. In regard to education, they kept closely to the traditions of the earlier dynasties, with a tendency to go back to the ancient

sages rather than to limit the curriculum or the number of students. At the same time it was becoming increasingly difficult to ignore the new influences from the West. Several emperors favoured the Jesuit Fathers, who came, bringing not only religion but Western science with them. Translations into Chinese of Western works of astronomy, mathematics, chemistry and other sciences were undertaken, both under Imperial and private patronage. The spirit of the times called for some changes in the old educational system. Under the Ch'ing dynasty the public schools were of three orders. The first, or school for nobles, was known as Tsung Hsueh, the second, the so-called national school, was known as Kuo Hsueh, and the third, provincial school, or Sheng Hsueh. Nobles' schools were established in the capital city and had various grades. National schools comprised those schools which provided education for the children of the sons of officers, ordinary Manchu bannermen and for Mongols. They included schools for the teaching of the Mongolian and Manchu languages, as well as schools for the study of mathematics. At this time the National University was in a flourishing condition with a well-organised staff of professors and other officers. It is noteworthy that all the offices connected with this institution were equally divided between Chinese and Manchus. The University at this time provided two main courses for study, one classical, and the other specifically concerned with Government administration. An indication of the widening of the earlier curriculum can be seen in the subjects comprised in the course of Government administration. Students were examined in public rites, taxation, laws, frontier defence, waterways, and mathematics. They were permitted to specialise in one subject, or allowed to take several subjects at one and the same time. The Han Lin Academy and the Imperial Observatory, together with the Imperial Medical Academy, all flourished with a full staff of well-qualified teachers. Among the provincial schools maintained by the Government were at least one college in each province, one prefectural school in each prefecture, departmental schools in each department, a district school in each district and village schools as well as charitable schools in small towns and villages. The village and charitable schools, which were maintained at the public expense, were intended for the children of the poor who could not afford the cost of attendance at private schools. Provincial schools were provided for advanced students who had already taken the *Hsiu Ts'ai*, or Bachelor's Degree. There came gradually a conflict between the old tradition and the new influences strongly flowing in from abroad. The Manchus had shown themselves in their earlier years more adaptable than their later descendants proved to be. Early in the 19th century there were evidences of decadence and the educational system and its institutions began to decline. There was unrest everywhere and by the middle of the 19th century a new period was begun. Meanwhile, the examinations began to take on ever-increasing importance in the lives of those who wished for administrative posts. Attendance at school and college became irregular and spasmodic. Studies were pursued at home or wherever the occasion best served the student. Shortly before the beginning of what is known as the modern period in Chinese education the situation with regard to public education was as follows: The first step for the student was to sit the matriculation examination in his district and prefecture; (2) he then submitted himself for the examination for the first degree, *Hsiu Ts'ai*, which took place in the chief city of the district; (3) he would then submit himself to the examiners in the province for a second degree, *Chu Jen*, which was held in the capital of the province under the supervision of the Literary Chancellor. He could not,

however, sit this examination until he had taken the first degree. (4) He would then, if successful, present himself for the national examination held every three years in the capital city. Those successful in this examination were given the degree of *Chin Shih* (doctorate). (5) Those not yet satisfied with their progress would then proceed to the Palace examination; only *Chin Shih* could enter for this test. Successful candidates were elected members of the Han Lin Academy. (6) The ultimate in examinations was examination in the presence of the Emperor. Candidates in this examination were given official rank and a higher post in the State service.

In 1842, five Chinese ports were opened to foreign trade and commerce. This is conveniently referred to as "The Treaty Ports Period."

At this time China was more or less forced to change her traditional system by the influx of large numbers of missionaries of all denominations, who followed swiftly on the heels of the traders and spread themselves all through the Treaty Port areas. They lost no time in establishing Schools as instruments for the dissemination of Christian knowledge and faith. It should be remembered that these early schools had very little of the character and scope which they came to have in later years. They had originally no well-established educational curriculum, no particular policy except the spread of the Christian faith. These schools, moreover, were mostly confined to the children of peasants. For some years the missionary schools were, during this period of decadence, to all extents and purposes the only institutions where some form of modern knowledge was taught.

When the Treaty of Tientsin was ratified in 1860 the need was felt for men familiar with both the written and spoken languages of the different Treaty Powers. In 1862, the Government established in Peking the *Tung Wen Kuan*, or Interpreter's School. This school, originally founded by the Chinese Foreign Office, was placed under the direction of the then Inspector-General of Maritime Customs, the late Sir Robert Hart. In 1866, it was raised to the rank of a college. Before that date only foreign languages were taught there, but later a scientific department was added.

Soon after the establishment of the *Tung Wen Kuan* the Foreign Office established two auxiliary institutions, one at Shanghai and the other at Canton. As these schools developed, English, French, Russian and Japanese were regularly taught in them. In 1867, a school of mechanics was built as an annex to the Kiang Nan Arsenal at Shanghai, in order to teach the theory as well as the practice of mechanical engineering. The main idea originally was to enable China in due course to dispense with the employment of foreign mechanical engineers and become completely independent. In the same year two naval schools were established in Foochow. In 1879 the Northern Government Telegraph College was established at Tientsin. In 1890 the Chinese Imperial Naval College was set up at Nanking, and two years later the Government Mining and Engineering College of the Hupeh Board of Mines was founded at Wuchang. This was a time of flourishing co-operation with the West. Colleges of Agriculture, Languages, Mechanics, Mining and Military Science were organised, and resident professors were invited from the United States, Belgium, England, Germany and Russia.

Many attempts were made during these years of Manchu decline to modernise the time-honoured examination system. There were always objections to any such proposal. For the Chinese were suspicious of the great hold which this new and, they feared, pernicious influence from the West was gaining upon the Sons of Han. Why, they asked, should a system which had served them well for many generations be discarded merely because these foreigners had nothing like it in their own land? Would it not be more reasonable, if foreign knowledge there must be, to combine it with such of this new-fangled instruction as might prove to be useful in Chinese judgment? None the less, in 1887, two years after the end of the war with France, a radical change was made in the examination system by an Imperial Decree providing that mathematics and science should be introduced into the Government examinations. Thus, for the first time in Chinese history, modern sciences were placed on a par with the traditional classical learning. Even here China was in advance of some of the Western nations, for, as has been pointed out by Dr. P. W. Kuo, this triumph of realism over humanism did not take place in Germany until the adoption of the Reform programme of 1901, nor in France until the adoption of its Reform programme in 1902. It was some time, however, before the new system was working in any way satisfactorily, the examiners and chancellors themselves not yet being fully acquainted with the new subjects for examination. In these later decades of the 19th century it became a practice for forward-looking Chinese to go abroad for study at universities in Europe and the United States.

One of these early returned students, the late Dr. Yung Wing, proposed, in 1868, a scheme for sending selected students to the United States, so that they might be thoroughly trained for State services. Largely through the influence of Tseng Kuo-fan, Ting Yi-chang, and others high in the State service, the scheme received Imperial sanction soon after the Tientsin Massacre of 1870, and Yung Wing and Chin Lan-pin, the latter a member of the Han Lin Academy, were appointed to take charge of the newly created Commission to supervise the scheme. In the latter part of the summer of 1872 the first thirty students were sent to the United States, and by autumn 1875 the last group had arrived there. The scheme was highly successful, and the students selected proved themselves, almost without exception, to be capable and active in their great task. In many cases they even outshone the brightest of their American fellow-students. The scheme, however, did not live long, and in 1881 the Commission broke up and the students, now numbering one hundred, were recalled.

The disastrous war with Japan in 1874-1875, and the general foreign aggression which followed it, gave a new impetus to the cause of educational reform. It now became obvious to many, for the first time, that further reforms in education were necessary if China was not to remain for ever a victim of foreign aggression. Even many literary men of advanced years sought Western learning and reform clubs and boards of translators were set up to enable all who wished to do so to read what the West had to offer. By 1896 all schools where Western languages and science were taught were overcrowded with pupils. During this period the long-projected Tientsin University, later known as Peiyang University, was founded. Another important institution is the Nanyang College, which was established in Shanghai in 1897.

In the closing years of the 19th century a remarkable book appeared, written by the Viceroy of the two Hu Provinces, Hunan and Hupei. This



A MIXED PRIMARY SCHOOL.



MIDDLE SCHOOL STUDENTS WITH THE PRINCIPAL



A PROFESSOR WITH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS



STUDENTS OF ADVANCED ELECTRONICS

book is remarkable for its purely Chinese literary style, which is admirable from every point of view, and for its contents, which can be summarised as follows : The author advocated the establishment of modern schools in every province, circuit, prefecture, department and district. He outlined a system of schools as follows : Universities in the provincial capitals as well as in Peking. Colleges in the prefectural cities and high schools in the districts. The curriculum of the high schools was to be the Four Books, Chinese geography and history, arithmetic, geometry and the elements of science. That of colleges was to comprise the higher branches of science, the Five Classics, the standard history of China, government administration, foreign languages and literatures. The curriculum of the universities was to be still wider. He suggested the conversion of temples and monasteries into schools and the appropriation of temple lands and funds for educational purposes. He suggested the abolition of certain long-standing subjects of the former purely Chinese curriculum, although he did not suggest the abandonment of the study of the Confucian Canon. This imaginative work attracted much attention. By order of the Emperor it was put before the Grand Council of State and copies of it were distributed to Viceroy, Governors and literary examiners so that it might be widely published and extensively circulated. Within a short space of time millions of copies were distributed, and the minds of the people were thus prepared for reforms much more radical than any hitherto proposed. (*See first entry in Bibliography.*)

In the year 1898 the young Emperor, Kuang Hsu, encouraged by many reformers, including K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao, issued a series of decrees embodying some of the most sweeping reforms in Chinese history. Some of these naturally concern education. They were to include many of those suggested in the book just mentioned. The reform of the military examination system and the encouragement of the translation of foreign books, as well as the establishment of daily newspapers, sent a new wind throughout the Empire. All seemed to promise well when the premature action of some of the reformers led to the arrest and the imprisonment of the young Emperor by the Empress Dowager. The edicts which had authorised the reforms were cancelled, and the old regime was restored. Newspapers were suppressed, and the right to use temples, monasteries and nunneries for school purposes was revoked. The old system of examinations was reinstituted, and the Imperial University alone withstood the storm. From the beginning of the new century trouble followed hard upon trouble, and in the prevailing unrest education had no chance.

None the less, another attempt was made in the early years of the 20th century to bring about reforms in the educational system. Then came the Russo-Japanese war, and the Manchus assumed that Japan's success was largely due to her grasp of Western learning. This led to renewed efforts to carry out a reform policy. Another direct result of this war was that Chinese, astounded at Japan's success against Russia determined themselves to sit at the feet of the Japanese, their one-time pupils. It was the age of pilgrimage from Chinese cities to Tokyo. At one time the number of Chinese students in Japanese universities reached fifteen thousand. The first modern school system was set up in the early years of the 20th century, when an edict was issued commanding that all provincial colleges in the capital cities of provinces be turned into modern colleges after the model of the Imperial University at

Peking. It was further enacted that middle schools be established in every prefecture and department, that elementary schools be established in every district. The course of study was to include Chinese classics, history, the principles of government, and Western sciences. The general outline of these institutions is as follows :

Kindergartens were designed for the care and instruction of children between three and seven years of age, children to be allowed to remain in the kindergarten for a period not longer than four hours daily, tuition to be free.

The Lower Primary School was founded to give to children about seven years of age such knowledge as would equip them to begin life as good citizens, to establish in them the foundation of morality and patriotism, and to promote their physical welfare. The curriculum should include morals, Chinese classics, Chinese language, mathematics, history, geography, nature study and physical culture. Such subjects as drawing, handicrafts and music might be added. The course covers five years, and the number of hours of recitation weekly is limited to thirty, twelve of which are given to the study of Chinese classics. In Government-established schools no tuition fee is charged.

The Higher Primary School aims at cultivating the moral nature of the young citizen, increasing his knowledge and strengthening his body. The curriculum is similar to that for the Lower Primary School, but takes in advanced stages of study. In addition, courses in agriculture and commercial practice may be added. The full course covers four years.

The Middle School was based on the American High School. Its aim was to provide higher general education for students between fifteen and nineteen, so as to prepare them for political or industrial life, or for entry into higher institutions of learning. Tuition fees are charged varying with local conditions. The course of study covers five years and the curriculum comprises moral studies, Chinese classics, Chinese literature, foreign languages, history, geography, mathematics, biology, physics, and chemistry, civics and economics, drawing and physical culture.

The institution usually known as the Higher School, or sometimes as Provincial College, corresponds almost completely with the final years of the French Lycée, and to the first years of the American College. Its aim is to prepare students to take up their studies in the University. The curriculum includes in its three years three courses of study :

- (a) Preparing students to enter the University as students of Chinese classics, political science, law, literature and commerce.
- (b) Preparing students for the courses in science, agriculture and engineering, and
- (c) similar preparation for medicine.

This curriculum places great importance on modern languages, with the object of preparing students to read foreign books with ease.

The scheme for the universities was in the direction of rendering the university system more widespread. Hitherto the universities and high colleges

had not been numerous outside the capital, but now the proposed scheme suggested that there should be at least one university in each province. Each university was to have special colleges for the teaching of Chinese classics, law, literature, medicine, science, agriculture, engineering and commerce. All these courses were to run for three years, except that for physicians in the colleges of medicine, which was to take four years. In the Science College there were six divisions, one each for mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, zoology and botany, together with geology. The College of Agriculture was to have four main courses : agriculture, agricultural chemistry, forestry and veterinary medicine. The College of Engineering taught the following courses : Architecture, mechanical engineering, naval architecture, technology of arms, electrical engineering, civil engineering, chemical engineering, the technology of explosives, mining, and metrology. The College of Commerce was to provide three courses, banking and insurance, trade and traffic, and taxes and customs.

There was, in addition, to be a School of Research, open to outstanding graduates of the universities and other applicants who could pass the admission examination. The course of study occupied five years.

In addition to all the above, there were special schools, generally called Normal Schools. These were of three kinds, the Higher Normal, the Lower Normal and the Industrial Training School. According to law, the expenses of a Normal School should be chargeable to the local authorities, except in such cases as might arise when the student has good reason to wish to pay his own.

In addition, there were special schools mainly concerned with the teaching of languages and the training of medical men. There was also an industrial teachers' training school, whose purpose was to train teachers to occupy teaching posts in industrial and apprentices' schools. The three varieties were : agricultural, commercial and mechanical schools. The course of study for the first two occupied two years, that of the third three years.

A further change which marked the years of educational reform was the step-by-step abandonment of the examination system as formerly conceived. It had now become evident that the reform educational system and the old purely Chinese one could not be indiscriminately mixed. The complete abolition of the old system at one stroke was, however, too radical a reform to be carried. In the result, one stage after another of the old system was abandoned, until, just before the end of the Manchu dynasty, there were very few relics of the old system left.

We may take the six years between 1905 and 1911 as marking the implementation of all the proposed changes and reforms which had been proposed during the preceding twenty years. The Manchu dynasty was tottering to its fall. Every year saw new efforts on the part of the revolutionaries to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. Even the Empress Dowager, with her eyes firmly fixed on the past, was ultimately persuaded that certain educational reforms must be carried out if any vestige of power was to remain in the hands of the dynasty. So prolific were the scholars of this period in suggestions that the memorials, prayers to the Throne, edicts and regulations concerning different aspects of the new educational system filled twelve large volumes. It is impossible here even to summarise this vast accumulation. We can merely hope to indicate the main trends.

In December, 1905, the first Ministry of Education was set up. Hitherto, it will be remembered, the whole of China's educational system had been in the hands of a Board or Department, for long centuries, indeed, in the hands of the Board of Rites. The new Ministry assumed precedence over the old Board of Rites, and the ancient National University was amalgamated with the new Ministry. The Ministry had at its head a President, assisted by two Vice-Presidents, two first-class assistants, two second-class assistants, and four assistants of the third class. These officers were further assisted by five departments, into which the Ministry was divided. These were : (1) The Department of General Supervision ; (2) The Department of Technical or Special Information ; (3) The Department of Publications ; (4) The Department of Industrial Education ; (5) The Department of Educational Finance.

It is fair to say that the reform scheme of education had been developed to a high degree of theoretical completeness, but it must also be said that it did fall short in practice. In fact, at no time in the long history of Chinese education was the practice up to the standard of the theory. This was due to many causes which the history of China will make plain enough to the reader. It is no more than saying that China's experience in this direction is in no way different from that of the Western nations which have from time to time evolved more or less ideal systems of teaching and study. At different times in Chinese history outside influences have been so strong that there was no chance for any but the most firmly established of training systems to withstand them. This underlines the persistence of the Confucian tradition throughout the long period of education from the 4th century B.C. down to the birth of the Republic. Great and drastic as many of the changes were, nothing is more outstanding than the hold which the Confucian Canon has exercised on the Chinese mind through twenty-four centuries.

When the revolutionaries, who had long been striving for the overthrow of the Manchus, achieved success on October 10th, 1911, one of the first things to be considered by the new Republican Government was the establishment of an educational system on a broad reform basis. One of its main purposes was the preparation of the people by all possible means for the institution of constitutional government. This had hitherto been considered impossible as the people were largely illiterate, and the spread of new ideas and political conceptions on any large scale was impeded. In the year of the Revolution the Ministry of Education founded a new body of great importance, known as the Central Educational Council, whose functions might be compared with those of the Consultative Committee of our own Board of Education. Systems of provincial and local administration of education were evolved and the separation of the Civil Service examination system from the educational system as such preceded changes and developments in school organisation. The whole of popular education, as it had been conceived under the Empire, was reviewed and revised. Text books were overhauled, and great attention was paid to the provision of special apparatus, charts, drawings, and other illustrative material, and school exhibitions were organised with prizes for the best products of the students.

Naturally enough, with the Republic only just feeling its feet, and much else needing to be done in the establishment of provisional government, education, although not neglected, was not given all the attention it needed.

An Emergency Central Educational Conference was called in 1912 with the main article on its agenda "to profit by the knowledge and experience of the country's educators with a view to promoting the cause of education and hastening its progress by assisting the Government to adopt a sound educational policy". During the first two years of the Republic new rules and regulations covering the entire educational system were put into force. These had been revised from time to time as experience in schools, colleges and universities, and as advice from Chinese students trained abroad, was tested in practice throughout the years down to the opening of the war with Japan. The effect of many of these reforms was to bring about changes, not only in Chinese Government and private schools, but also in the status of missionary education. It also resulted in a closer co-operation between schools founded by foreigners in China and those of a purely national character. Numerous educational organisations, commissions and committees came into being in order to render this co-operation smoother and more effective.

Throughout it all, however, it still remained the primary business of the Chinese school, college and university to inculcate morality and good behaviour. Thus the basis of the teaching provided even in modern schools was still largely Confucian in character, and it was readily conceded by the new educators that mere instruction in principles of right conduct was by no means sufficient to form the student's character. Thus greater importance was placed on the moral character and bearing of the teachers, and a new system of selection from the training colleges was introduced. Throughout Chinese history the student has had before his eyes the figure of the ideal instructor, a man whom he would wish to emulate in every way. Every dynasty has left so many such names and the educators who framed the new republican scheme of education carried on this tradition in their selection of teachers.

X. THE REPUBLIC

It has always been stated that the early years of the Republic were full of troubles and readjustment. We have, in the previous section, sketched in outline the earlier efforts of the Republic to set up a modern educational system. Up to 1928 numerous schemes were put forward, some of which were adopted while others remained in the blue print stage until things became more settled. The North-west expedition against the War Lords interfered to a great extent with the development of educational institutions for which, naturally, settled conditions are imperative.

In 1928, however, the total number of universities, independent and technical colleges numbered seventy-four. This number was steadily increased until, just before the outbreak of war in 1937, the figure was one hundred and eight. By the end of 1937, as a direct result of Japanese bombing policy and wilful destruction on the part of the occupying forces, this number had fallen to ninety-one. Largely owing to the strenuous efforts of the Government, university officials and students and other interested parties, the universities and technical colleges were removed with all speed to the interior. This prevented losses from assuming more dangerous proportions, and from the beginning of 1938 we find a progressive increase in the number of such institutions, so that

by the end of 1938 the figure was ninety-seven, in 1939 one hundred and one in 1940 one hundred and thirteen, in 1941 one hundred and twenty-nine, in 1943 one hundred and thirty-three, and in 1944 one hundred and forty-three.

Before the war most of the schools and higher institutions of learning were situated in the cities of China's coastal provinces. The war merely emphasised the need for decentralisation and hastened its accomplishment. The great migration to the interior West, North-west and South-west began in August, 1937, and when the existing universities had been safely transported it was not long before the foundation of others was undertaken. The story of these long treks from different parts of China has often been told. Naturally some of the universities and independent and technical colleges had to suspend work, but out of the total number not more than nineteen were completely idle. Of those established since the war began in 1937 sixteen are national institutions. Private institutions newly founded number twelve. There had to be adjustments in organisation and curriculum to meet wartime demands, and various plans were drawn up to cover these temporary changes and to provide for their cessation on the return of peace. A unified system of entrance examinations effective from 1938 was introduced. Even in wartime the Ministry of Education found it possible to set aside a special fund from which prizes might be awarded for works in literature, philosophy, arts and science.

During the war years regulations governing the sending abroad of students for special studies were made more strict. In 1942 the Ministry of Education sent to England eight scholarship students for post-graduate work, their studies including such subjects as aeronautical engineering, mechanical and electrical engineering, ship, textile and chemical engineering. In the autumn of 1943 the Ministry of Education despatched ten Government-supported students to India for advanced training.

Progress was also made in the pre-war period and during the war in secondary education. From just under two thousand schools in 1938 the number in 1943 was three thousand one hundred and eighty-seven. In Middle Schools similar progress can be reported. In pre-war years there was no comprehensive plan for the regional distribution of institutions of secondary education. This resulted in the coastal provinces being crowded with schools while the interior provinces had scarcely any at all, although their need for them was great. Regulations to provide a reasonable planning scheme for Middle schools were formulated in 1938. Normal schools in Free China during the war numbered four hundred and fifty-five, and these also came under the 1938 planning system. The vocational schools, some four hundred and ninety-five at the outbreak of the war, fell to two hundred and ninety-two a year later, and in 1939 reached the lowest figure, namely, two hundred and fifty-six. In 1943 they had been restored to three hundred and fifty-nine. For comparative purposes it may be interesting to glance at the figures for the number of students in the last pre-war year, 1936, and compare them with the figures for 1943. The total number of students for secondary education institutions of all kinds in 1936 was 583,363, including 456,380 Middle School students, 76,879 Normal School students, and 52,104 at Vocational Schools. In 1943 the total was 1,001,743, including 851,303 Middle School students, 89,431 at Normal Schools, and 61,009 at Vocational Schools.

In March, 1944, Free China consisted of eighteen provinces which contained 266,926 primary schools. The attack on illiteracy begun in 1938 set itself to

reduce the 306,000,000 illiterates at that date. When all deductions are made for dumb, deaf, blind, crippled or insane people and those over 45 years of age, the number of illiterates between 15 and 45 still able to learn under the normal system was reduced to 165,000,000. Up to 1942, 46,348,469 illiterates had been given the rudiments of education, and the others between the ages of 15 and 45 who received schooling was approximately 140,000,000, the figure for children between six and 15 was 53,101,531. In July, 1945, a compulsory education Act was passed so that henceforth all children will be required to attend school. Education of the poor pupils of Overseas Chinese parentage and of those in the country areas where regular attendance at school was difficult or impossible has been strenuously pursued throughout the war. Social education forms an important part of the new Republic scheme. Teaching by means of drama, music, and the fine arts, radio and motion pictures and physical culture meetings, as well as the New Life Movement, is a matter of prime importance in the present scheme. The promotion of science and technology under the guidance of the Council has been vigorous since March, 1943, and Sino-American co-operation for the promotion of education has been of the utmost value in the difficult times of the past twenty years.

The remission of the British portion of the Boxer Indemnity dates from December, 1922, and resulted in valuable Sino-British co-operation for the promotion of educational activities.

Among research organisations the foremost place must be given to Academia Sinica. It maintains thirteen institutes: Physics, chemistry, engineering, geology, astronomy, meteorology, zoology, botany, psychology, history and philology, social sciences, physical anthropology, and mathematics. Most of these bodies have continued their activities during the war years, although, of course, on a reduced scale. Next comes the National Academy of Peiping, which has seven institutes: Physics, radium, chemistry, materia-medica, zoology, botany, historical studies and archaeology.

CONCLUSION

Those who are tired of being told that, culturally, China is in a special position cannot possibly be more tired of hearing it than we are of saying it! We have but to state the facts and let them speak for themselves.

Latin literature stretched, with long gaps, from about 240 B.C. to A.D. 120—less than four centuries. The whole of the cultural output of Ancient Greece was comprised within a space of less than 1,500 years, the greater part of it written within five centuries. What has survived from these ancient civilisations is pitifully little (did we hear a chorus of students say "Far too much"?). Professor Gilbert Murray considers that one can with pleasure and profit and no great labour compass the whole of the legacy of Ancient Greece in a few years. Certainly a diligent student could possess himself of the whole body of our Classics and much of the best written on them in less than ten years.

China's literary heritage covers four thousand years. Much of it, too, has been lost, but what remains is vastly greater in bulk than all we have left from Greece and Rome. Even the scanty remains up to the opening of the Christian Era amount to several times the size of our own classical corpus. The student

of Chinese literature, even if he starts very early, has no chance at all of reaching the end in one lifetime. There is inevitably much he must leave unread. He must choose and abide by his choice.

Education, therefore, has always presented a special problem to the Chinese, for widely varying conditions call for varying curricula. The one outstanding fact in Chinese education is the persistence of the study of the Confucian Canon. Even when modern subjects were introduced into new systems, the Canon held its honoured place. Modern Chinese students, well versed in Western studies, still know the Confucian writings—even if they are not quite so letter perfect in them as their fathers were.

The changes, from dynasty to dynasty, radical as they may have seemed at the time, were petty in view of the sweeping reforms which overtook the educational system at the turn of the last century. Many of the reforms then proposed, temporarily accepted and then annulled, have come into being under the Republic, although their adoption is not yet complete. As we have said, China has her plans for an educational system which will be at once practical and comprehensive, but she has so far never had the requisite peaceful conditions for its permanent establishment.

It will, however, be apparent to the reader of the foregoing pages that the Chinese have displayed, through all periods, an historical sense. It is, perhaps, this which has preserved Chinese civilisation as a continuing factor into our own times, while many cultures contemporary with the successive Golden Ages of China have disappeared. This sense of history may yet save China from the rocks which now lie in her path and bring her once more to the moral leadership of men she has so often exercised in the past.

A word may be said on the literacy question. Much has been made of the widespread illiteracy in China under the Empire and of the vigorous steps taken to abolish it under the Republic. Life among the illiterate peasants or river-men of old China makes one doubt the advantage of universal literacy. Bernard Shaw could, in 1920, compare the pre-1860s favourably with the years following 1870 when "the Education Act had produced shop-assistants who know how to read and know nothing else". One is tempted to ask what proportion of our population makes full, or even reasonable, use of the priceless gift of literacy. The gigantic circulation of daily newspapers, cinema journals, sporting papers and general light reading matter presupposes a lack of appreciation of the value of this possession.

There can be no doubt of the steady lowering of educational and general standards in our day; intellectually and materially we are living in a "shoddy" age. But lower standards, though they may show a greater number of successful students, defeat the main purpose of education itself. Education must be a living, expanding organism, compelling in its attraction. All living must be a learning and the whole of life must be a school. Only then will human intelligence achieve its best and live its full life. We must make the schoolroom attractive and teachers must be inspired leaders, eager to impart what they know while they acquire yet more. They must be supreme examples of the good life so that all who study under them will seek to be as they are. They must know knowledge for a true Good and inspire their pupils with eagerness to possess it: they must also be wise enough to show the way beyond knowledge to wisdom.

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Tacitus, *Dialogus*.

A LIST OF HIGHER LEARNING INSTITUTIONS IN CHINA

(Note: * Institutions with Medical Colleges)

NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
National Central University	Nanking*
National Peking University	Peiping*
National Tsing Hua University	Peiping
National Nankai University	Tientsin
National North-west University	Sian*
National Sun Yat-sen University	Canton*
National Chiaotung University	Shanghai*
National Tungchi University	Shanghai*
National Chinan University	Shanghai
National Wuhan University	Wuchang
National North-east University	Mukden
National Chekiang University	Hangchow* in preparation
National Szechwan University	Chengtu
National Hunan University	Changsha
National Amoy University	Amoy
National Yunnan University	Kunming*
National Kwangsi University	Kweilin
National Chungcheng University	Nanchang
National Fuhtan University	Shanghai
National Kweichow University	Kweichow
National Honan University	Kaifeng*
National Chungking University	Chungking*
National Shansi University	Taiyuan*
National Yingshih University	Kinhwa, Chekiang
National Lanchow University	Lanchow*
National Anhwei University	Anking
National Peiyang University	Tientsin
National Shantung University	Tsingtao*
National Taiwan University	Tainan

PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES

Utopia University	Shanghai
University of Nanking	Nanking
University of Shanghai	Shanghai
Kwanghua University	Shanghai
Great China University	Shanghai
Yenching University	Peiping
Catholic University of Peking	Peiping
Soochow University	Soochow
Chunghua University	Wuchang
Lingnan University	Canton*
Kuomin University	Canton*
Franco-China University	Peiping*
Cheeloo University	Chengtu*
Huachung University	Wuchang
University of Canton	Canton
Aurora University	Shanghai
West China Union University	Chengtu
Fukien Christian University	Foochow

NATIONAL COLLEGES

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
National Medical College of Shanghai	Shanghai
National Chungcheng Medical College	Nanchang
National Medical College of Kweiyang	Kweiyang
National Medical College of Kiangsu	Chinkiang, Kiangsu
National Teachers' College of Hupeh	Kiangling, Hupeh
National Teachers' College of Kweilin	Kweilin
National Hunan Yale Medical College	Changsha
National Teachers' College	Hengyang
National Teachers' College of Peiping	Peiping
National North-west College of Engineering	Sian
National North-west College of Agriculture	Wukung, Shensi
National Teachers' College for Women	Chungking
National Teachers' College for Kweiyang	Kweiyang
National College of Social Education	Soochow
National Teachers' College of Kunming	Kunming
National Shanghai College of Commerce	Shanghai
National Tang Shan Engineering College	Tang Shan
National Railway Administration College of Peiping	Peiping

PROVINCIAL COLLEGES

Sinkiang Provincial College	Tihwa
Kwangtung Provincial Hsiang-Ching College of Commerce	Canton
Kwangtung Provincial College of Arts and Science	Canton
Szechwan Provincial College of Education	Chungking
Fukien Provincial College of Medicine	Foochow
Kwangsi Provincial College of Medicine	Kweilin
Hupeh Provincial College of Agriculture	Enshih
Fukien Provincial College of Agriculture	Foochow
Sinkiang Provincial College for Women	Tihwa
Kiangsu Provincial College	Shuchow
Kiangsu Provincial College of Education	Wusih
Anhwei Provincial College	Hofei, Anhwei
Hupeh Provincial College of Medicine	Enshih

PRIVATE COLLEGES

Shanghai College of Law	Shanghai
Nantung College	Nantung
Chung Kuo College	Peiping
Chaoyang College	Peiping
Shanghai College of Law and Jurisprudence	Shanghai
Ginling College	Nanking
Hangchow Christian College	Shanghai
Fukien College	Foochow
Chen Ming College	Shanghai
Min Kuo College of Peiping	Anhua, Anhwei
Hwanan College for Women	Foochow
Tientsin College of Commerce and Engineering	Tientsin
Shanghai Medical College for Women	Shanghai
Tung Teh Medical College	Shanghai
Tung Nan Medical College	Shanghai
Kwang Hwa Medical College for Kwangtung	Macao

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>
Nan Hwa College	Swatow
Soochow University	Soochow
Agricultural and Industrial College of Szechwan and Sikang	Chengtu
Ming Hsien College	Chintang, Szechwan
Peiping Union Medical College	Peiping

NATIONAL TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

National School of Fine Arts	Hangchow
National Central School of Engineering	Chungking
National School of Mercantile	Shanghai
National School of Pharmacy	Nanking
National Teachers' School of Physical Education	Wuchang
National Central School of Technology	Loshan, Szechwan
National Chi-kung School of Engineering	Chi-kung
National North-west School of Industry	Lanchow
National Sikang School of Technology	Sichow
National Conservatory of Music	Nanking
National School of Music	Shanghai
National School of Drama	Shanghai
National Teachers' School of Physical Education	Paoting
National Fukien School of Music	Foochow
National School of Oriental Languages	Nanking
National School of Hydraulic Engineering	Kaifeng
National Frontier School	Chungking

PROVINCIAL TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Chekiang Provincial School of Medicine and Pharmacy ...	Tientai, Chekiang
Kiangsi Provincial School of Engineering	Nanchang
Kiangsi Provincial School of Medicine	Nanchang
Kiangsi Provincial School of Veterinary Science	Nanchang
Shantung Provincial School of Medicine	Wanh sien
Shensi Provincial School of Medicine	Sian
Kiangsu Provincial School of Sericulture ... ..	...
Fukien Provincial Teachers' School	Foochow
Szechwan Provincial School of Fine Arts	Chengtu
Szechwan Provincial School of Physical Education	Chengtu
Yunnan Provincial School of English Language	Kunming
Kiangsi Provincial School of Agriculture	Nanchang
Shensi Provincial School of Commerce	Sian
Shensi Provincial Teachers' School	Sian
Kwangtung Provincial School of Fine Arts	Canton
Kwangtung Provincial School of Engineering	Canton
Szechwan Provincial School of Accounting	Chengtu
Kiangsi Provincial Teachers' School of Education	Nanchang

PRIVATE TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

Wusih School of Chinese Classics	Shanghai
Rural Reconstruction School... ..	Chungking
Wen Hwa (Boone) Library School	Wuchang
Wuchang School of Fine Arts	Wuchang
Shanghai School of Fine Arts	Shanghai
Hsin Hwa School of Fine Arts	Shanghai
Li Hsin School of Accounting	Shanghai
Soochow School of Fine Arts	Shanghai
Kiangsu Chen Chih School of Fine Arts	Soochow
Chunghua Evening School of Commerce	Nanking
Chue Tsai Agricultural School	Hupei
Chunghai School of Engineering and Commerce	Shanghai

A TABLE OF CHINESE DYNASTIES

The Five Rulers	...	...	...	...	...	...	2852-2205 B.C.
Hsia Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	2205-1766 B.C.
Shang (or Yin) Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	1766-1122 B.C.
Chou Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	1122-255 B.C.
Ch'in Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	255-206 B.C.
Han Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	206 B.C.-A.D. 221
Three Kingdoms Period	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 221-420
Division (North and South)	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 420-589
Sui Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 589-618
T'ang Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 618-907
Five Dynasties	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 907-960
Sung Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 960-1280
Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty	...	...	...	...	...	...	A.D. 1280-1368
Ming Dynasty	A.D. 1368-1644
Ch'ing Dynasty	A.D. 1644-1911
The Republic of China	A.D. 1911-

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FOREWORD

We have frequently been asked for an introduction to Chinese philosophical thought for those who have no Chinese. Such works as exist already were said to be too technical for the general reader, or, it was claimed, they dealt with one aspect only of the Chinese philosophical genius.

We have tried, in the pages which follow, to give the basic history of Chinese thought and its development into the varied philosophic systems which flourished during those magic five centuries before the Christian era

It will not escape the Western reader that China's contribution to world culture runs closely parallel to that of Ancient Greece. Both established immortal canons of Beauty and Truth at almost the same time. The debt owed by the modern world to these two great civilizations can be discharged only by a full acceptance of these priceless gifts.

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September, 1946.

To a man who protested that he could not give himself to the study of philosophy, Diogenes said, "Why then do you live, if you do not care to live well?"

DIOG. LAERT. VI, 65.

When asked what he gained from philosophy, Diogenes replied, "This at least—if nothing more—to be prepared for every change of fortune."

DIOG. LAERT. VI, 63.

Section X

PHILOSOPHY

INTRODUCTION

PEOPLE HAVE FREQUENTLY ASKED IN THE PAST AND THEY TEND TO ASK EVEN MORE insistently to-day "What is the good of philosophy?" Herein they provide the answer to their own question, for if the world of men knew the wisdom of the philosopher they would know of "good things" as well as of "the Good" or that which is good in itself. Alas! men have now but one yardstick—economic utilitarianism—and nothing is worth while which does not contribute its quota to the glory of this thesis.

Now philosophers have not neglected the economic problems of their various ages; indeed, the economics-mad protagonists of the present day owe their very existence, as well as the basis on which their own theories are built, to philosophers. But the philosopher is a wise man. He does not narrow his horizon to one point of view nor imprison himself by slavish adherence to one theory, creed or political conviction. The whole world of thought and experience is his sphere of action. He will never admit that the age has become so complicated that no man has time to gain a view of the whole. That argument he recognises as the plea of the lazy man; it is older than Aristotle himself, yet *there* was a philosopher who surveyed and wrote about the whole field of human endeavour. Not every man can become an Aristotle, but every man can try.

The philosopher, therefore, deplores the popular habit of singling out one particular thesis for one age and riding it to death. It has always happened, it is happening now all over the world; and future ages which will poke fun at us for our worship of economic security which ends logically in the destruction of the spirit of adventure and sturdy independence, will, no doubt, have their own jealously guarded theses for which they will be prepared to fight and die. This the philosopher sees with a calm vision; calm because he knows that man is not yet of full stature. It is his task to alter this course if he can, but he is wise enough to know that in all probability he will fail. He may, in this age of spiritual poverty, echo, again and again, the concluding words of the pseudo-Platonic *Minos*: "But it is shameful indeed for the soul to be found ignorant of those inner attributes which conduct to its welfare or peril, while it has made profound study of those things pertaining to the body." But, knowing men, he is prepared to find none to listen.

The philosopher knows that the body is the house (some will insist "the prison") of the soul and it must, therefore, receive its meed of attention. But he would put first things first and to put the body and its appetites first invites mental and spiritual destruction. Men have never been in danger of overlooking their bodily good; few, indeed, have elected to suffer in the flesh for the full satisfaction of those higher callings of mind and spirit. Yet the whole history of man shows that he must come to this one day if he is to survive and fulfil his destiny.

Philosophy, then, is not a matter of the cloister and the dusty library. It is a vital concern with the affairs of men in the world, an eternal quest for the way of life. Nor is it a collection of ancient creeds kept alive for the delectation of scholars. Read the works of Plato and you will see how tragically we are repeating the errors so common in his day. Read the Chinese philosophers and you will discover that man has had before his eyes for twenty-five centuries the solution to many problems with which he fumbles to-day. In spite of Plato the philosopher-king has not yet appeared : in spite of Confucius the supremely good man has not yet gained command of his kingdom.

But the main concern of the philosopher is not with kings. He must capture the heart of Everyman and fire him with his own zest for knowledge. Men must no longer ask "What will it profit me to learn such things?" ; they must rediscover that eager fire which set the ancients asking "Why?" and "How?" in the dawn of the world. For knowledge is a true Good, but wisdom is the Good which makes men gods.

I. "THE SAGES OF OLD"

The Western student of Chinese philosophy cannot but make numerous comparisons with the philosophic systems of the West, but he will also find many changes of emphasis. For example, the earliest philosophers of the Mediterranean lands concerned themselves largely with speculation as to the nature of the universe in which man found himself, its constitution and primary essence, and, later, man's relation to that universe. In the Far East, on the other hand, the earliest recorded philosophic speculations seemed to concern themselves mainly with one ultimate, namely, the essence of human nature. If, said these philosophers, in effect, any radical change is to be brought about in the world of men, it must first be preceded by a radical change in human nature. This emphasis is the more surprising at such an early date as only now are some thinkers in the West beginning to realise that the problems which Western civilisation has raised for itself will now demand a fundamental change in human nature for their solution.

It is impossible to set down the actual facts as to when Chinese thinkers first recorded the results of their speculations, for the nature of early records was such that they did not survive many centuries and various national cataclysms resulted in their destruction at an early date. It would appear, however, that even as far back as the two ancient rulers, Yao and Shun (2357-2205 B.C.) there was intellectual activity of such a nature that later scholars and thinkers referred to the period covered by these two rulers as one of the most brilliant and perfect epochs in Chinese history. Certainly from about this time there was the Office of Keeper of Records, an official post which was held through successive generations by prominent scholars whose duty it was to review all the preceding records, editing them where necessary and adding current records of their own times. These were largely official Government records of intellectual and general progress. We have, then, in so far as these records have been preserved, a year-by-year account of the development of Chinese thought and belief. Throughout the Hsia and Shang dynasties the Keeper of Records continued his work and when the Chou dynasty came there was already a large collection of documents for the guidance of those who now formed the Board of Records.

The Chou dynasty was feudal, with numerous princes holding their fiefs from a central authority, but the whole administration was loosely held together more or less on the old clan system, which has been the strength of China throughout her history. Towards the middle of this dynasty, the political fabric deteriorated and the various kingdoms began to fall apart from the main structure. At this time there arose several great teachers who, reviewing all that had been thought and written in the past, believed they had the means whereby to bring the country into a prosperous and united whole. This period runs roughly from the 6th to the 2nd century B.C., and is called in the Chinese writings the Period of the Philosophers. It is, perhaps, best to begin, therefore, with Confucius, who was born in 551 B.C. in the State of Lu, now the province of Shantung. This man, in due course, became himself Keeper of the Records and was much impressed by what he found of the words of the "ancient sages". He began a vigorous editing of all that had gone before, and, from his own review, he evolved a philosophic system which may best be described as ethico-political. He based himself securely on the problem of human nature, which, he said, properly treated and well trained, would prove to be essentially good. All his teachings tended to the demonstration that no system of thought, philosophy, political or economic development or Government structure could succeed unless it were framed by the perfect ruler and executed by perfect citizens. His main preoccupation, therefore, was to produce the *chun tzu*, commonly translated by Legge as "the superior man", but more correctly defined as the perfect citizen.

He referred his readers always to that distant past in which the "sage kings of antiquity" had ruled with wisdom, discretion and consequent success, over people who were pliant, happy and enlightened. Naturally enough the accuracy of this statement has been questioned, for it is man's invariable habit to cast longing eyes back to "the good old days". There is, however, reason to believe that such a golden age did, in fact, exist in China's antiquity, for there are numerous stories in the histories referring to States where "things lost on the road were not picked up" and where those who had to serve a prison sentence were "set to stand within a painted line upon the ground and would not seek to escape". Be this as it may, it is illuminating to find that Confucius was deeply concerned that man in his day had lost his old simplicity and reasonable outlook on life, so that the times had become difficult for prince and citizen alike. So impressed did Confucius become with his system and its potentialities that he decided he would attempt to produce the ideal ruler in his own State. He went, therefore, to see him and attempted to persuade him to practise his principles in the Government. Being unsympathetically received, he went, with several chosen companions, from State to State, presenting his solution for the problems of the time to various princes in turn. He was distressed to find that materialistic and power aspirations obsessed these princes who constantly asked in what way his teaching would profit them or their peoples. It was this preoccupation with profit and advantage which was the greatest distress of Confucius' teaching life.

It will be interesting at this point for the Western reader to recall Plato's dictum that only when kings become philosophers or philosophers become kings will the world really be well governed. It is, in fact, true that these two teachers, contemporary, although so many thousands of miles apart, taught, broadly speaking, the same principles to be employed in the production of the perfect

State. It did not perhaps occur to either teacher as it did to the Schoolmen of the Middle Ages that here was a paradox, since princes are usually the last to be interested in philosophy and philosophers have no interest in power.

It is worth while here once more stating the fact that Confucianism is not in any sense a religion. Throughout the Confucian Canon there will be noted the absence of anything which we in the West associate with faith or spiritual comfort. The great success of Buddhism, when it was introduced some centuries later, was due to the fact that the people already imbued with Confucian teachings found in the new faith something which they did not find in their own philosophy. The Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana and its sanction of rewards and punishments prior to the "eventual attainment", gave the Confucianist a sense of security for the spiritual side of his being which he did not find in the purely philosophic teaching. Buddhism had, of course, its own philosophy, but this being much more mystical did not appeal so much to the practical nature of the Chinese.

Broadly speaking, then, the Period of the Philosophers begins with the statement of Confucius as to the essential goodness of man's nature, with emphasis on the necessity for teachers to know the True Good. The Confucian Canon will recall to many Westerners the teachings of the Platonists, the Stoics and other Western schools of thought which maintain that evil is ignorance, since no man properly informed would knowingly choose evil. Confucius made a great point of the rulers and those around them being informed men, for, he said, only those who are learned can safely lead those who do not yet know. In the *Analects* Confucius said, "Chou had the advantage of surveying the two preceding dynasties. How replete is its culture: I follow Chou." So far as Confucius was concerned, the records and institutions of Chou were all powerful indeed to transmit the spirit of the ancient sages as well as to prepare the way for those scholars who were yet to come. He never failed to recall the achievements of King Wen and the Duke of Chou, two of the founders of the Chou dynasty in the 12th century B.C.

It results from the nature of the Chou Government that there were no "private writings" before the time of Confucius, all scripts being in the form of Government records, such as those from which Confucius selected one hundred to form the *Shang Shu*, which we call the Book of History. But that these documents were regarded as models of literary composition as well as records of daily conduct on the part of the sages of old, is beyond doubt, judging from the numerous references in the Confucian Canon.

It is part of the Chinese tradition that one age learns from its forerunners and it is clear from the writings of Confucius and the records of his conversations with his close companions that he considered that man had already reached the zenith of his achievement and that the times in which he lived were out of joint. This period of decadence had been reached by a steady decline from the glories of the past. It is for this reason, perhaps, that Confucius refers so frequently to the sage rulers of old in contradistinction to the self-seeking practitioners of his own time. He did, in fact, foresee the early collapse of the Chou dynasty and this to him appeared a major tragedy, only to be averted by a return to the teachings of the wise kings of old and to the simplicity of former days. There is much of identity of thought and purpose between the Stoic school of ancient Greece and the Confucian school of early China.

Another important point to be borne in mind is that Confucius did not claim that these teachings were his own. In the *Analects* we read, "I am a transmitter and not a maker." In other words, he made it clear that all he was doing was to act as editor of the wisdom transmitted from former days. There are, however, weighty scholars who believe that whatever the basis of the greater part of the Confucian teaching may be, Confucius did, in fact, evolve some of the principal tenets of his philosophy and, as was the custom in those days, attributed them to the common source. It makes little difference to the value of his teaching whichever hypothesis we accept.

II. THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Confucius himself did not write any philosophical treatise, but this was not unusual in the early part of the Period of the Philosophers as, at that time, there was no real distinction between officials and scholars. Officials were such by virtue of their scholarship and all scholars occupied official positions, at any rate until they were advanced in years. According to the contemporaries and especially the close companions of Confucius, he was the first to develop a true system of thought.

From the 8th century B.C. down to the Han dynasty, the Government of China and its social organisation and economic structure all underwent radical changes descending from a state of rule by a feudal aristocracy to a loose confederacy of warring princes. The conditions of the social order and the standing of the classes of the common people changed in many ways and frequently not for the better. The old statement that "for the menials there are helpers, for the horses there are grooms and for the cattle there are cowherds" ceased to apply. There was no longer "provision for all things". The former rigid social system began to break up with the collapse of the feudal system and one of the results of this break-up was the rise of many men of comparatively low station to positions of great importance. At the same time many of the former ruling families fell from power. This led naturally to the collapse of the first Emperor and his totalitarian régime and the unification of all the former warring States into an empire. At this period there were before the people several competing systems of thought in process of being shaped into philosophical schools by the original writers or their descendants. Within the few centuries from 600 to 200 B.C. there appeared Laotzū, Confucius, Motzū, Mencius, Yang Chu, Hsün Kuang, Kuei Ku-Tzū, Kuan Tzū, Han Fei-Tzū and others. These formulated systems of philosophy which were intended to show forth the way of life for the State or for the individual or for both. It is of more than passing interest to reflect that this same period saw the full flowering of Greek philosophical and oratorical genius half a world away.

A great deal appeared in the books of this period on the subject of social progress. For example, in the ancient feudal period such terms as "King's Land" and "subject to the King" had economic meaning as well as being political concepts. In later times they had no economic significance at all. Under the feudal system the Emperor, with his title of Son of Heaven, together with the feudal lords, the ministers and great officers were all over-lords of the people, politically and economically. When the royal House of Chou invested the male branches of its family with lands, those so invested acted in the dual

capacity of political ruler and economic landholder. These feudal lords in their turn divided the lands among their relatives and their relatives, again, among the common people for accommodation. Ordinary folk could not, in their own right, own land; they were agricultural serfs. For this reason the Government records of that time, as found in the Tso Chuan and Kuo Yü, tended to confine their descriptions of the activities of the time to the achievements of noble families, that is, to those who belonged to the division of the "Hundred Names". It should be remembered that at this time the lower orders had no such surnames; as in our own feudal period, personal and vocational names were all that the agricultural labourer or common artisan possessed. During this time also the merchant class rose in importance until it acquired great power. In *Ch'ien Han Shu*, or the History of the Former Han Dynasty, we read that with the decline of the House of Chou, their rites and laws fell into decay. This falling away from ancient standards reached such a point that both among the officials and the common people there were none who did not set aside the regulations of olden time and spurn the fundamental of life (i.e., agriculture). The peasants dwindled steadily until they became very few and at the same time the number of merchants increased. There was consequently an insufficiency of the five cereals and a superfluity of manufactured goods. Mercantile activity was excessive, artisans produced objects of no real utility and the scholars followed practices subversive of morality in their pursuit of immediate benefits and their search for worldly wealth. The courts and groves of the rich had elaborate and costly adornments and their tents and houses had a superabundance of meat and grain. Even so, under these chaotic conditions, there were those among the common people who, though theoretically all of equal rank, rose by the power of their worth to become the masters of others.

The collapse of feudalism was thus brought about through this continual increase of economic power in the hands of the former agricultural serfs and of the merchants, "with the result that the Imperial regulations disappeared and the rites and laws fell into decay". Two instances may be given of the rise of the merchant class: Hsien Kao, while a mere merchant, successfully protected the Chêng State from the surprise attack launched by the State of Ch'in and Lü Pu-wei, from the position of a trader, became Minister of the State of Ch'in. These were men, typical capitalists, who became important in the political affairs of their time. In view of this gradual collapse of the ancient institutions of a feudal society, it is natural that there should have been a tendency among some scholars who saw that "the spirit of the age is not that of antiquity and men's hearts daily decline", to act energetically as upholders of these ancient institutions. Confucius was such a man. Before such institutions had been shaken their mere antiquity and long duration were sufficient to arouse in man a feeling of reverence for them. But, once challenged, they were in danger and for their preservation, if their apologists wished to gain a genuine following among the rulers and men of their time, were forced to supply good reasons for upholding the past and its institutions. The main burden of the work of Confucius was in this direction and the later Confucian scholars continued it.

The general tendency of the time, however, was such that the ancient institutions continued to disintegrate in spite of the attempt of the Confucian school to uphold them. From the time of Confucius downward, there arose men who criticised or opposed the ancient practices, who wished to revise them

or alternatively establish completely new institutions in their place. There were even some who were opposed to all institutions whatsoever. The age was one of transition and the institutions of the past had lost their authority. Those who did contribute to this loss had nothing to put in the place of that which they had destroyed. It was a time of uncertainty and divergence of opinion so that when the Confucians expounded their arguments for the preservation of the ancient ways and the institutions of the past, Chinese philosophers holding widely different views were forced, in order to gain a following, to explain logically why they considered their new doctrines superior. Hsün Tzū, talking of the doctrines of twelve opposing philosophers says "what each one supports seems reasonable and their teachings are all plausible". By this means men became accustomed to emphasis being placed on legal presentation and this resulted in the rise of the School of Dialecticians. This school discussed definition of terms and had a purely literal interest in phenomena.

From many of these contending systems of thought we can gain a very clear picture of the times. For example, Mencius writes: "Sage kings cease to arise, the feudal lords give reign to their desires and unemployed scholars indulge in unprofitable discussions." Chuang Tzū says "the world is in great confusion, the virtuous and the wise are obscured, merit and virtue have lost their unity and there are many in the world who have seized a single aspect of the whole for their self-indulgence. Everyone in the world does what he wishes and is a law unto himself". Finally, I Wên-chih says: "The various philosophers belong to ten Schools but only nine of these are worthy of notice. They all began when royal control was losing its hold and the feudal nobles were gradually becoming more powerful. They differed widely among themselves in what they preferred and what they disliked. Just so the different practices of the nine schools ceased forthwith and had a common development; each school picked a single point which it designated as The Good and which was discussed in such a manner as to win the favour of the feudal lords."

Such is the framework in which we must view the Period of the Philosophers. Let us now see what were the principal pre-philosophic period beliefs leading up to the formulation of the various philosophic theses which were at different periods to exercise so great an influence over the writings of Chinese *literati*.

III. PRE-PHILOSOPHICAL BELIEF

Early pre-philosophical belief in China, as indeed elsewhere, was that natural phenomena and human affairs are governed by some sort of divine control. In Fraser's "Golden Bough" we can trace the community of thought among early peoples on the matter of the various spirits and deities who controlled their destinies and actions. This sort of belief, to which the general name of animism has been given, would indicate that every item of natural phenomena has its resident spirit, so that, for example, it was enough for the early Romans to say *Numen est* (there is a spirit within). Even so, in China, the rivers and hills, trees and waterfalls, as well as animals of the wild, all had their resident spirits and there was from age to age very little variation in the popular belief as to the type and power of these various forces. Herein we find the origin of various sacrifices. There were sorcerers and witches who were alleged to have power over these unseen demons. There were intercessors with the unseen powers

and these developed into priests of a religious type. Animism had a strong hold in China as elsewhere, and it was not long before a new variety of anthropomorphism began to appear. This eventually developed into what later became known as "ancestor worship", though this is a misnomer. Ancestors were not, in fact, worshipped, but in accordance with an ancient tradition crystallised into a telling phrase by Confucius, "the spirits of those long gone must be served with reverence". One gave thanks to one's forbears while they were living for the gift of life. When they had gone they were informed at the family shrine of the state of affairs in the family. This was a part of the traditional continuity of the early clan life, those no longer present being presumably still interested in the affairs of those who had taken up their burdens. The feeling of family unity developed to its extreme pitch from the old clan sense of strength in unity so necessary in early dangerous times. Many anthropologists have seen in this strong family tradition of the Chinese not only the strength of the whole nation through endless vicissitudes but also something akin to a religious belief or conviction. The interested reader will find in such works as Kuo Yü, Ch'u Yü, Tso Chuan and other early writings, many instances of early belief as to the power of spirits and many such statements as "the spirits follow the customs of the people".

When we come down to the early dynasties, such as Hsia and Shang, we find a monotheistic belief emerging. The common word to indicate this single godlike power was either *T'ien*, literally "Heaven", or *Ti*, literally "God". Nevertheless, through succeeding ages, as we see from the literature, polytheism was still prevalent among the unlettered masses. This fact was duly recorded in numerous places in the early writings where we come upon such phrases as "the ruler is the host of the spirits as well as the hope of the people", and references to such and such a person who has "cast himself out from both spirits and men, the spirits are angry with him and the people revolt".

From the stage where everything animate or inanimate had its informing spirit, it was a short step to various divinatory and magical practices. These were intended to propitiate angry spirits and to secure the help of benevolent ones. Out of these numerous practices arose the system of the Five Elements of Chinese philosophy. These were earth, wood, metal, fire and water. These were taken not only in their literal sense but as corporeal essences of the Five Constant Virtues, which were appearance, speech, vision, hearing and thought.

By the time we come down to *Shang Shu* (commonly called in the West "The Book of History") we have fairly continuous references to God and Heaven as a condemning and punishing force. We even find a sense of personality here and there. In some of the classical writings we find evidence of a fatalistic Heaven, closely akin to the Western spirit of Fate. Frequently again "Heaven" in these writings may well be rendered in an English translation by our word "Nature". Even in *Shang Shu* we can find the beginnings of naturalism and in the Book of Poetry we find reference to a divine pattern. The texts, however, make it clear that this divine pattern is concerned with the political and social regulations instituted by the Supreme Being. Here is an interesting parallel with the belief of the ancient Greeks that they were, in their practices in the city States, working out a plan originally conceived by the gods of high Olympus.

We can now proceed to discuss the early philosophical systems evolved by different figures on their discarding of the animistic beliefs and practices.

IV. THE CONFUCIAN SCHOOL

It has already been stated that the main principle of the Confucian philosophy was the production of the ideal ruler and the ideal citizen. This was to be achieved by the determined study of human nature and the understanding of its vagaries. The nature of man was to be trained to a point at which it would instinctively choose the good in preference to evil ; where it would seek the good of others rather than its own. Only those well trained and possessed of full knowledge should be entrusted with the task of government, for ruling is a serious business and should not be entrusted to those who have not the requisite training to enable them to distinguish essential values from delusions.

The Confucian philosophy developed from the body of writings known as the Confucian Canon. As the component parts of the Canon have been fairly fully treated in the *Classics* pamphlet (Number Seven of this series) we shall refer readers to that work for details and deal here only with the broader aspects of the teaching of Confucius.

Confucius believed that the nature of man was essentially good ; it was its contact with the workaday world of men which brought about its degeneration. Yet man must live in such a world ; how then shall he discharge his duties in it without suffering contamination in the process ? How, too, should a ruler exercise his power and lead his people so that all he does shall be for their benefit and the general good ? The answer is in the teaching of Confucius.

Here are a few of the sayings of Confucius on the principles of government and public affairs :

Duke Ai asked, " What must I do that my people may be contented ? " Confucius replied, " Promote the upright and dismiss all evil doers. "

Confucius said, " Without the confidence of the people no government can stand very long. "

Someone put a question about the art of government. The Master said, " Devote yourself patiently to the theory and conscientiously to the practice of government. "

Another asked Confucius for advice on the subject of government. Confucius replied, " To govern is to keep straight ; if you, sir, lead the people straight, which of your subjects will venture to fall out of line ? "

The Master said, " If the ruler is personally upright his subjects will do their duty unbidden. If he is not personally upright they will not obey, whatever his bidding. "

Confucius said, " If the country had none but good rulers for one hundred years, crime might be stamped out. If a kingly sovereign were to appear, by the end of one generation natural goodness would prevail. If a man can reform his own heart, what should hinder him from taking his part in the government, but if he cannot reform his own heart, what has he to do with reforming others ? "

A certain Duke asked about the conditions of good government. Confucius said, "Government is good when it makes happy those who live under it and attracts those who live far away."

A certain Governor asked for advice on government. The Master said, "Do not try to do things in a hurry. Do not be intent on small gains. What is done quickly is not done thoroughly, and if small gains are considered, great things remain unaccomplished."

One of his companions asked about the service due to a Prince. Confucius said, "Use no deceit, but if you oppose him, oppose him openly."

Confucius said, "If the ruler cherishes the principle of self-control, the people will be docile to his commands."

Confucius said, "In serving your Prince make the actual service your first care and only put the emolument second."

So much for a view of Confucius on government. Here are a few of his sayings on individual virtue :—

"The wise man in his judgment of the world has no predilections nor prejudices. He is on the side of what is right."

Confucius said, "If you always seek only your own advantage you will be sure to make many enemies."

"He who wants little seldom goes wrong."

Confucius said, "The wise man regards the moral worth of a man, a fool only his position, a wise man expects justice, a fool expects favours."

Confucius said, "The higher type of man is catholic in his sympathy and free from party bias. The lower type of man is biased and unsympathetic."

Confucius said, "Only he who has the spirit of goodness within him is really able either to love or to hate."

Confucius said, "The wise man will be slow to speak but quick to act."

Confucius said, "All men are born good. He who loses his goodness and yet lives is lucky to escape."

Confucius said, "The higher type of man, having gathered wide objective knowledge from the branches of polite learning, will recollect the whole by the inner rule of conduct and will thus avoid overstepping the limit."

Confucius said, "The man of moral virtue, wishing to stand firm himself, will lend firmness unto others. Wishing himself to be illuminated, he will illuminate others. To be able to do to others as we would be done by, this is the true token of moral virtue."

Someone enquired as to the meaning of true goodness. Confucius said, "The truly good man is slow of speech." Slowness of speech ! Is this what goodness consists in ? Confucius said, "Does not the difficulty of deciding what it is right to do necessarily imply slowness to speak ?"

When someone asked him how to attain exalted virtue Confucius said, "Make conscientiousness and truth your guiding principles and thus pass on to the cultivation of duty to your neighbour. This is exalted virtue."

We may fitly conclude these extracts from the sayings of Confucius by one which has become famous among all scholars of Chinese. Confucius said, "I will not be grieved that other men do not know me, I will be grieved that I do not know other men."*

It must not be supposed that the Confucian school arose spontaneously upon the instant recognition of the merits of Confucius as a teacher. We have stated more than once that it was the lot of Confucius to die in disillusion, feeling that the world of men would not pay due regard to his teaching. The Confucian school was a slow development over the generations which followed the death of Confucius. By the time his grandson was engaged on editing some of the texts which form the Confucian Canon as we now know it, there were the beginnings of a school which was destined to dominate the intellectual and political life of China for two thousand years.

The careful student of the Confucian Canon will find many references to the word *tao*. This word is, moreover, frequently used in what later came to be known as a non-Confucian sense. If we take one extract from the Confucian Analects, it will illustrate the attitude and the doctrine usually associated in early times with the word *tao*. The extract is: "Shun was one who did nothing yet governed well. For what, in effect, did he do? Religiously self-observant he sat gravely on his throne, and that is all."

This is the early Chinese doctrine of Quietism. Writers appeared about this time to advocate the Quietist system of life. This teaching was incorporated into a system known in later periods as Taoism. Although Ssü-ma Ch'ien, in his monumental *Shih Chi* or Historical Record, tells us that a certain Lao Tzū met and talked with Confucius, there is reason to believe that this is legendary. Lao Tzū is supposed to have laid the foundations of Taoism as a philosophy shortly before Confucius evolved his own system. In fact, however, it is possible that if Lao Tzū lived at all, he, like Confucius, drew upon an accumulation of ancient learning, emphasising one aspect and more or less disregarding others. This supposition is borne out by the fact that there are several places in the Confucian Canon where words attributed to Confucius seem more at home in the mouths of the Taoist philosophers.

Before going on further to a consideration of the later pillars of the Confucian school, we may discuss the bases of the Taoist philosophy.

V. THE TAOIST SCHOOL

Tradition has it that the Founder of the Taoist School was Lao Tzū of the 6th century B.C., to whom reference has already been made. Later criticism has tended to discount the stories of Lao Tzū's life, his meeting with Confucius,

* These quotations from the Analects of Confucius are here given in the translation of Lionel Giles (*The Sayings of Confucius*, Wisdom of the East Series, John Murray). Dr. Giles has achieved a remarkable combination of literal fidelity to the original text with eminently clear style. The general reader could not have a better introduction to the teaching of Confucius. The translator has also corrected errors in former versions.

and his departure riding on a black ox out of China into eternity. He is said to have been the author of a small work bearing the title of *Lao Tzū*, or alternatively *Tao Tê Ching*. This is a curious production, with many profound aphorisms couched in the most terse style and many of the passages in it are concise to the point of obscurity.

The underlying teaching of the book is the Quietist philosophy of "do nothing and all things will thereby be achieved". Later Taoist writers developed this into the so-called doctrine of *wu wei*. This is not, however, merely a *laissez faire* policy, least of all in government or national affairs. It is the thesis of conforming man's nature to the essential rhythm of the universe. The early Taoist writers believed (as who viewing our world intelligently to-day would not) that man makes most of his troubles through his insistence on a perpetual "busyness" instead of quietly discovering the central rhythm of nature and living in accordance with it. For example, one of the sections of Lao Tzū's book begins with the words "Govern a large country as you would cook a small fish" (i.e., do not overdo it). Another well-known saying of the early Taoists was, "He who knows does not speak, he who speaks does not know." It is, perhaps, fair to say that the author of this pertinent remark was challenged by a leading poet of the T'ang dynasty in these words :

" Who speak know not, who know speak not
Are words from Lao Tzū's lore,
What then becomes of Lao Tzū's own
Five thousand words or more ? "

While there are still many parts of this small work which remain obscure (in spite of numerous commentators through the centuries), the main burden of the work is clear. If man will return to his original native simplicity he will not merely save himself much trouble and suffering ; he will also achieve much more in his short span than he does at present by the exercise of his energies in chasing numerous shadows and illusions.

Shortly after Lao Tzū came Chuang Tzū, one of the most illustrious of Chinese writers. His style is so superb that many critics and commentators have found it impossible to say whether he is read more for his matter than for his style. He has left a work of fair extent, some of which is obviously not from his own hand, although it bears all the marks of having been written by members of his School. He made all the dry and pithy utterances of Lao Tzū vivid periods in the best Platonic tradition. Some of the stories we encounter in the pages of Chuang Tzū remind us of Plato's allegories and images in the *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo* (and the story of Er in the last book of the *Republic*). Chuang Tzū created the " world of non-existence " into which the human soul could retire, so as to gain strength and a renewed sense of values to enable him to deal with the workaday world which tried his spirit almost to breaking point. His mastery of style enabled him to create verbal images which have never been excelled in later Chinese literature.

It is from the pages of Chuang Tzū that we learn all we know of the paradoxes of Hui Tzū, a figure strongly reminiscent of that other creator of paradoxes, Zeno of Elea. Chuang Tzū showed very little sympathy with the dialecticians who taught by the use of paradox. A pleasant story is told of Chuang Tzū and

Hui Tzū standing on a bridge in the springtime watching fish swimming about in the clear waters below. Chuang Tzū, no doubt himself conscious of the joy of spring and his accord with nature at this season, remarked, "See how the fish disporting themselves in the water are filled with the joy of spring." "No," retorted Hui Tzū. "Tell me, how do you know, not being a fish, how the fish feel?" "I do know," retorted Chuang Tzū; "besides, you, not being me, cannot know what I know. And you yourself have acknowledged that I know, for you ask me, 'How do you know?'"

It is said that in the works of Chuang Tzū we get the first mention in literature of the theory of metempsychosis. We are told that Chuang Tzū, resting in his garden one warm day, fell asleep and dreamed. In his dream he seemed to have become a butterfly, and flitted about from flower to flower. Later on he woke and, accommodating himself to the change, he said, "Am I now a butterfly dreaming that I am Chuang Tzū, or am I Chuang Tzū waking from sleep having dreamed that I was a butterfly?"

Through long centuries the works of Chuang Tzū have given delight to millions of scholars. Our own teacher, than whom none was a more ardent Confucianist, beguiled his leisure hours by reading and re-reading the so-called Classic of Nanhua. It has, in its long existence, received the attention of numerous learned commentators, the prince of whom is undoubtedly Kuo Hsiang.

The third great name in the Taoist School is that of Lieh Tzū, whose full name was said to have been Lieh Yü-k'ou. There are those who say either that Lieh Yü-k'ou never lived, or if he did he wrote no book. The theory has been put forward that Lieh Tzū was a figure invented by Chuang Tzū in his own writings, and that later ages taking him for a real man, produced a book to pass under his name. Whatever the truth of the varying critical contentions may be, the work is of sufficient interest profitably to engage the attention of any student of Chinese philosophy. It is at once thought-provoking and satisfying, and undoubtedly it is in close accord with the general principles of early Taoist thought. In this work we are to discover the first mention in literature of the modern principle of auto-suggestion. There is the story of a man who could not find his axe, although convinced that he remembered where he last put it. It came to his mind that his neighbour's son, a mischievous rascal, might have come upon the axe and, for his own purposes, used it and then hidden it away. He resolved to keep a close watch on the boy to see what happened. As the days went by and he spied upon the boy he discovered, he said, all the signs of criminality marking the boyish features, until at long last he was convinced that the boy had stolen his axe. Then on a sudden he found it on his own premises, where, in a forgetful moment, he had himself placed it, and, he says, "I looked over into my neighbour's garden and I saw the boy, so lately the object of my suspicion, playing innocently with his toys, and, as I looked, I wondered that I could ever have seen in that innocent face all those marks of baseness and vice which had appeared so plain to my eyes before."

The Taoist philosophy exerted a great deal of influence at different times upon the Chinese mind, and several Emperors were devotees of later Taoist cults. Unfortunately, what began as an idealistic and quietist system of thought of extreme value to man condemned to live in a world of trouble and noise,

degenerated some centuries later into an alchemistic cult whose main concern was to discover the elixir of immortality. Temples were built and a priesthood instituted until, some few centuries after the sublime achievements of Chuang Tzū, a Taoist pope, presiding over a mixed bag of alchemists and sorcerers, was installed with full pomp and ceremony.

It is perhaps as well to mention here a writer of the 3rd century B.C., who discussed at great length the teaching ascribed to Lao Tzū. This was Han Fei Tzū, a legalist philosopher whose main preoccupations owed little to Taoism, but whose imagination was caught by some of the teachings of the early Taoists. It is not too much to say that early Taoism, not less than Confucianism, has lessons for our own "atomic" age.

VI. THE EARLY MOHISTS

We may now turn to consider one of the most outstanding figures in Chinese history, the philosopher Mo Tzū, sometimes called Mo Ti. For a long time it seemed as though the teaching of Mo Tzū would seriously challenge that of Confucius for supremacy, and, indeed, the names of the two teachers were constantly linked from the period of the Warring States down to the end of the third century B.C. Several indications, however, lead us to believe that about a century before the Christian era Mo Tzū had lost his influence and Confucianism had already established itself as the predominant influence over Chinese thought. For example, in *Shih Chi*, by Ssū-ma Ch'ien, we find only a couple of lines detailing the life of Mo Tzū, whereas the life of Confucius occupies many pages.

In view of the startling nature of many of the ideas of Mo Tzū, it is more than surprising that his teaching was in a state of almost complete eclipse from about 100 B.C. down to the middle of the Ch'ing dynasty. Mo Tzū has been called by some Western scholars the earliest Christian, although the provisional date for his birth is somewhere between 479-468 B.C. The best of critical Chinese scholarship suggests that Mo Tzū was born round about the period of the death of Confucius and that those parts of the Mo Tzū writings which deal particularly with criticism of Confucian practice were written by later members of the Mohist School. It may be taken as certain that there was no Confucian School as such in the lifetime of Mo Tzū himself.

Among students of philosophy the most outstanding section of Mo Tzū's writings is that collection of three essays under the name *Chien Ai*, or Universal Love. In this section Mo Tzū lays it down as a fundamental principle of good government and correct behaviour on the part of the people that all from the ruler down to the ordinary citizen should cease to regard the individual and personal good and seek that of others. Thus the ruler who regards the safety and comfort of another State as equally important with those of his own is behaving in accordance with the principles of universal love, as laid down by Mo Tzū. If men in their daily dealings with each other will not seek the satisfaction of their own personal desires and ambitions, but will strive equally hard for the satisfaction of those of others, they will not merely find true happiness, but will help to establish that universal good order which the world has long been seeking.

Another of the favourite tenets of Mo Tzŭ was that of frugality. He revolted against what he called the extravagant ceremonial and expenditure of his day. He believed that all funerals, for example, could, without loss of reverence, be made simpler and far less costly.

Mo Tzŭ also made a great point of the abolition of war. He had practical acquaintance with it, as is shown by the fact that in his writings we have several long chapters on defence and stratagems to be employed against the enemy. He was even mechanically minded, and had devised scaling ladders whereby soldiers might successfully attack stout city walls. None the less, what he had learned about war had brought him to realise its futility and brutality, and he lost no opportunity of condemning it as a means of settling disputes.

There is abundant evidence, however, to show that these ideas did not originate with Mo Tzŭ. He was, indeed, the first to practise them and to rationalise them into a philosophical system. The essential difference between the Confucian system and that of Mo Tzŭ was that the former insisted on the necessity for uprightness of character and ideals whether, in fact, these ideals could issue in practice or not. There are many places in the Confucian Canon where the word *Li* (profit) is challenged by an apologist of the Confucian School as being an unworthy aim for the perfect citizen. Mencius even reproved King Hui of Liang for asking whether the teaching which Mencius had brought to his State would *profit* his people. Mo Tzŭ, on the other hand, preached utilitarianism. His principles were to be put into practice, because if this were done they would definitely profit the people and the ruler and bring the people who practised them real merit.

It should be remembered that the whole of this period, i.e., from the Middle Sixth to the Middle Third Century B.C., was one of great difficulty and disturbance; and that acute minds like those produced during the Period of the Philosophers could not but see the manifold ills which were afflicting the government and the people and busy themselves about means of redress. For Confucius the supreme object was the production of the perfect ruler and the perfect citizen. This accomplished, all disorders would disappear of themselves. On the other hand, Mo Tzŭ's utilitarian principles had greater weight, as he felt that it would be impossible in a short space of time so to develop the nature of man as to ensure the perfect State arising from the ruins of decadent Chou. If, therefore, he could show not merely in his teaching but in his own life that these principles he taught so strenuously bore direct fruit and did, indeed, profit the practitioner, this, he felt, would win him many more adherents and bring about more speedily and more freely a return to the glories of former times.

A story may be told which is found in Chapter 47 of Mo Tzŭ. Mo Tzŭ met an old friend who, after greeting him, said: "Nowadays none can be found anywhere who practises righteousness. You yourself are attempting this, but all you succeed in doing is to inflict pain on yourself; you had better give it up." Mo Tzŭ replied: "Let us suppose that a man has ten sons, one son cultivates the land and the other nine stay idle at home. Then that one who tills the soil must naturally work all the harder. Why is this? Because many eat while few till the soil. Therefore to-day if none are found anywhere to practise righteousness you should all the more encourage me in doing so. Why do you attempt to stop me?"

Of his utilitarianism the following may be given as an example. In Chapter 48 we read : Mo Tzū asked a Confucian scholar : " What is the reason for performing music ? " The reply was : " Music is performed for music's sake." Mo Tzū said : " You have not yet answered me. Suppose I asked why you build houses ? If you were to reply so as to keep out the cold in winter and the heat in summer and to keep man and woman separate, then you would have told me the reason. Now I ask you why you perform music, and you reply, music is performed for music's sake. This is like saying houses are built for houses' sake." A further example is found in Chapter 46. Mo Tzū said : " Doctrines that can be transformed into conduct may be taught frequently, those which cannot be translated into conduct should not be so taught. To talk frequently about what cannot be carried out is merely to weary the mouth."

According to Mo Tzū, before a thing can possess value it must be of profit to the country and the people. The whole of his teaching brings out this strong utilitarian basis.

In Chapter 32 of his works we read : " Boats are to be used on water and vehicles on land, so that gentlemen can rest their feet and lesser people can rest their shoulders and backs. Now why is it that the people at large continually produced wealth and offered it and did not dare grumble about it ? It was because all these things helped to bring benefit to the people. Then, if it can be shown that musical instruments and shows equally contribute to the benefit of the people, even I shall not dare condemn them. If musical instruments can be shown to be as useful as the boats and cars of the Sage Kings shall I then dare to condemn them ? " We may here remark in parentheses that there is a strong resemblance between Mo Tzū's condemnation of music and Plato's attack on poetry in " The Republic ". " The people have three worries, that the hungry will not find food, that those who are cold will not be clothed, and the tired will not get repose. In these three great worries of the people do you imagine that their satisfaction will be felt in striking the bells, beating the drums, strumming the harp and playing the organ ? These things will not provide food, clothing and rest. Therefore I say to have music (while all these evils persist) is wrong."

Mo Tzū was the apostle of austerity. He maintained that luxury and adornment were of no benefit to the people ; in fact, they did harm. They were not, however, the greatest harm. The insistent fighting between peoples and States was, in the eyes of Mo Tzū, the prime cause of all the troubles which afflicted the country in his time. In one of the sections entitled " Universal Love " we read : " When we bring ourselves to think of the cause of all current calamities, how have they arisen ? Did they take their rise from love of others and the desire to benefit others ? We must say that it is not so. We shall have to say that they have arisen out of hate for others and a desire to injure others. I say that when everyone regards the States of other princes as he regards his own none will venture to attack the States of others. When everyone regards the capital cities of other States as he regards his own, who would attempt to seize the capital city of another ? Only when others are regarded as oneself then universality of affection and sympathy will be established."

At the end of his thesis on universal love Mo Tzū shows that the practice of universal love is not a one-sided benefit. " He who loves profits as fully as



PART OF THE GROTTA OF A THOUSAND BUDDHAS.

(Phot. by Hedda Morrison.)

所自勝無所可用也計其所得反不如所喪者之多
今攻三里之城七里之郭攻此不用銳且無殺而
徒得此然也殺人多必數於萬寡必數於千然
後三里之城七里之郭且可得也今萬乘之國虛
此據字正數於千不勝而入舊作人廣衍數於萬
文俗从土數於千不勝而辟此闕字之假廣衍數於萬
王通生楚辭不勝而辟音入辟為韻然則土地者
日衍廣大也所有餘也王民者所不足也今盡王民之死嚴下
上之患以爭虛城則是棄所不足而重所有餘也
為政若此非國之務者也飾攻戰者言曰舊作也
此如南則荆吳之王北則齊晉之君始封於天下之
時其土之方未至有數百里也人徒之衆未至有
數十萬人也以攻戰之故土地之博至有數千里

the one who is loved, on the principle of reciprocity." He is driven, therefore, through a series of arguments to the purely utilitarian attitude to show the necessity for the universal practice of love and sympathy.

With regard to Mo Tzū's condemnation of war we may quote : Mo Tzū said : " When we consider a victory we see that there is nothing useful in it. When we consider the possessions which are obtained they do not even make up for what has been lost. Those who try to gloss over wars of aggression would say, ' In the south there are the kings of Chin and Yueh, and in the north there are the lords of Ch'i and Chin. When their States were first assigned to them they were no more than a few hundred li square. Now they are several tens of thousands of li square and the people have grown to several millions. Thus, then, offensive wars are not to be condemned.' " Mo Tzū said : " Although there be four or five States which may have reaped benefits, this is still not acting in accordance with the true way. It is like a doctor treating his patients. The doctor should give all invalids in the world the same medicine, among the thousands who took it there might be four or five who would get benefit. Still, such a practice could not by any means be esteemed. Of the States into which the Empire was divided in early times a large number have disappeared through wars. Cases of ancient times we have heard of and recent cases we have seen with our own eyes."

There is a strong similarity between the teachings of Mo Tzū and the principles laid down by Jeremy Bentham. Both maintain that the purpose of a system of morality and of laws is to secure the greatest happiness for the greatest number.

Mo Tzū believed in the shaping of human conduct by both religious and political sanctions. In the eleventh chapter of his book we read : " In the beginning of human life, before there was law or government, the custom was that every man should act according to his own idea. Thus, with one man there was one idea, with two men two, with ten men, ten different ideas. The more people there were, the more the difference of ideas. (One recalls the line of Terence ' *Quot homines tot sententiae ; suis cuique mos.* '). Hence each man approved his own view and disapproved that of others. Fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers, became estranged and developed into enemies, and no agreement could be reached. The disorder in the world was like that of the jungle." Do we discern here an echo of our own Hobbes ?

At a later period the Mohist school developed the first comprehensive logical system in Chinese philosophy. About the time when Mo Tzū died, thinkers had begun to feel the need for logical progression in developing their arguments. Six of the books of Mo Tzū's writings, as they have come down to us, are concerned with the statement and development of the School's theory of logic. These six books are among the most difficult in Chinese literature, and they have exercised the minds of many scholars during the past 23 centuries. Perhaps the most striking contribution to this long discussion is Hu Shih's " The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China."

In the period between the death of Confucius and the rise of competing schools of thought there was a group of thinkers concerned with the Confucian theory of *Chêng Ming*, commonly known in the West as " the rectification of names ". It was only natural that as the various theories connected with this

investigation were formulated, a system of logic should evolve ; and, in fact, it will be seen that each school, from that of Confucius onward, always developed its own system of logic.

VII. YANG CHU AND THE HEDONISTS

Behind a simple statement in the works of Mencius, Book Three lies a fascinating study of the rapid growth of thought and speculation in the two centuries following Confucius. In this statement he says : " Nowadays people tend to follow either Yang or Mo. The principle of Yang is each one for himself, but this does not acknowledge the special claims of the Ruler. The principle of Mo is to love all men equally, which principle does not acknowledge the peculiar affection due to a father. To acknowledge neither King nor father is to differ in no way from the beasts of the field. If their principles are not stopped and those of Confucius set forth, their perverse speaking will delude the people and stop up the path of benevolence and righteousness. I am alarmed by these things and address myself to the defence of the doctrines of the former sages and to oppose Yang and Mo. I drive away their licentious expressions so that such perverse speakers may not be able to show themselves. When sages shall again rise up they will not change my words."

The reader has already had a few of the tenets of Mo Tzü. Now for a few words on the principles of Yang. This was Yang Chu, and he was China's first professional hedonist. We can best define his thesis by letting him speak for himself. Yang Chu said : " A hundred years is the extreme limit of life, and not one man in a thousand enjoys such a span. Even supposing there should be such a one, then the period of infancy and being borne in the arms, and later, doting old age will occupy nearly the half. What is forgotten in sleep, and what is lost in the waking day, will occupy nearly the half. Pain and sickness, sorrow and bitterness, losses, anxieties and fears will occupy nearly the half. There may remain ten years or so, but I reckon that not even in them will be found one hour of smiling self-abandonment without the shadow of solicitude. What then is this life of man, what pleasure is in it ?

" That wherein people differ is the matter of life. That wherein they agree is death. While they are alive we have the distinctions of intelligence and stupidity, honour and meanness. When they are dead we have so much stinking rottenness decaying away. This is the common lot, yet intelligence and stupidity, honour and meanness are not in one's power. Neither is that condition of putridity, decay, and utter disappearance. A man's life is not in his own hands, nor is his death. His intelligence is not his own, nor his stupidity, nor his honour, nor his meanness. All are born and all die : the intelligent and the stupid, the honourable and the mean. At ten years of age some die, at one hundred years of age some die. The virtuous and the sages die. The ruffian and the fool also die. Alive they were Yao and Shun. Dead they were so much rotten bone. Alive they were Chieh and Chou. Dead they were so much rotten bone. Who could know any difference between their rotten bones ? While alive, therefore, let us hasten to make the best of life. What leisure have we to be thinking of anything after death ? "

It is undoubtedly true that the times in which Yang Chu lived favoured the adoption by the people of his philosophy of hedonism. It was a comforting

thesis in a time when every man's hand was raised against his neighbour, and when the universal struggle was to secure the greatest advantage for oneself, whatever might happen to others in the process. Although Mencius found in his day much evidence of the powerful influence of the doctrines of Yang, they did not last much beyond the times of Mencius himself. We find, however, in Section 50 of the Works of Han Fei Tzû the following words: "Here is a type of man, whose policy is not to go into a city which is in danger, nor to permit himself to remain in the service of the armed forces. When asked if for the great profit of the world he would yield one hair from his body, he declared that he would not, yet rulers will follow him and regard him with admiration. They value his knowledge and exalt his conduct, because he is a scholar who has little regard for mere things and holds life to be something important."

It has frequently been stated that there is no evidence to show that Yang Chu's theories were in existence before his time. This, however, cannot be supported. Already in the time of Confucius there were those who felt that, the times being so out of joint, they could not realise their own fulness of life in existing circumstances, and who had withdrawn so far from public and private life as to make for themselves in their retreats, where they had retired, a microcosm where they could "fulfil themselves". Some of these even criticised Confucius, as we see, e.g., in the *Analects*, Book 14, Section 41: "On one occasion, when Tzû Lu spent the night at Stonegate, the gatekeeper asked him 'Whence come you?' Tzû Lu replied, 'From Confucius.' The gatekeeper rejoined, 'Is he not the one who knows he cannot succeed and yet keeps on trying?'" It may, however, be said that although it would appear that the ideas of Yang Chu already existed before his time, he was the first to set them down in the form of a systematic philosophic creed.

In Lü Shih Ch'un Ch'iu, Book 2, Section 2, we read the words of Tzû Hua Tzû: "Completeness of living is the supreme aim, an incomplete life comes second, death comes third, a constrained life is the worst of all. Therefore what is called the exalting of life means completeness of living. In completeness of living all the desires reach a proper harmony. That life which is incomplete is one in which the various desires reach but half-way to their proper harmony. Life which is incomplete is one in which a person fails to value that which he should hold dear. The more incomplete his life is, the less he values it. What is called death is a condition in which nothing is known, and one goes back to the state preceding birth. What is known as a constrained life is one in which none of the various desires reach proper harmony, and all desires meet only with frustration."

The Hundred Schools is a convenient term with which to describe the numerous philosophers and individualist thinkers who arose in response to the challenge of Confucianism. Many of them, of course, had little following, and the works of the greater number of them have perished. We have only brief quotations and vague references to many of their theories, but it would appear that the few works we have left indicate fairly fully the broad outlines of the different individualist schools. There was, for example, a certain Ch'en Chung Tzû. Of him we read in Hsün Tzû: "There were some who controlled their passions, deep and egocentric, who erroneously considered that their differences from others constituted their superiority. They were never qualified to unite

the people nor to show forth the fundamental duties of man. Still, their views had some basis, and their statements were not altogether unreasonable; they were, in fact, sound enough to deceive and confuse the illiterate people. Such were Ch'ên Chung and Shih Ch'un." According to Mencius, this man, believing his brother's income and house to be incorrectly come by, retired into the hills, where he wove sandals and hemp while his wife twisted hempen threads.

There was also Hsü Shêng, a man of the so-called Agricultural School. He claimed to base his principles on the doctrines enunciated by Sheng Nung (an ancient emperor who is frequently called "the Divine Husbandman", and who taught the people the principles of agriculture and hunting). He came to the State of T'êng and addressed the Duke of that State as follows: "I am a man from a distant region, and I have heard that you are practising virtue in your government. I beg you to give me a place whereon I may build a house so that I may become one of your subjects." We are told that he had some thirty or forty disciples who wore haircloth clothes, and who made hempen sandals and wove mats for a living.

We read in *I Wen Chih* that all the exponents of the doctrines of the Agricultural School could see no need for the sage-kings of old. They sought to make both ruler and subject till the soil together, and thus they overthrew the established order of upper and lower classes.

Another philosopher of the Hundred Schools was Kao Tzû. He debated with Mencius on human nature. When Mencius insisted that no violence was done to human nature by the training in ritual and ceremonial set out in the Confucian Canon, Kao Tzû said: "Human nature is like the willow, and morality is like a cup or bowl. To make benevolence and righteousness out of man's nature is like making cups and bowls from the willow." Thus, according to the principles of Kao Tzû, violence must be exerted on human nature to make it good, as must happen with the wood of the willow before it becomes wooden cups and bowls. "Therefore," Kao Tzû said, "human nature is like water in a whirlpool. Open a passage for it to the east and it will flow to the east, open a way for it to the west, and it will flow to the west. Man's nature makes no distinction between what is good and what is evil, just as the water makes no distinction between east and west." He summed up his argument with Mencius in these words: "Righteousness is something external. When there is present a person older than myself I give him the honour due to his age, but it is not that the principle of giving honour due to age is contained within me. It is just as when I am faced with a man who is white, then I consider him as white. This follows from the fact that his whiteness is something external to me. For this reason I say that righteousness is something external to man."

Another philosopher whose works have survived to our age is Yin Wên Tzû. Yin Wên Tzû and his school, we are told, learned not to be caught up in popular fashions, not to make a pretentious display, not to be reckless towards others, nor to show antagonism to men at large. They sought the peace of the world so that the lives of the people might be preserved. They sought no more than was sufficient for nourishing themselves and others, and thus they followed the teachings of ancient times. They endured insult without feeling it to be a disgrace, and in this way they tried to save people from fighting. They discouraged aggression and proposed the suppression of arms so that their

generation might be saved from war. They went throughout the States offering this counsel to the rulers and instructing the people wherever they would listen. Though none would accept the message they still would not give up. It would appear that they did too much for others and too little for themselves.

There was another man of similar doctrine whose name was Sung K'êng. He is quoted in Mencius as being on the way to the Ch'u State. Mencius asked, "Where are you going?" He replied: "I have heard that there is war between Ch'in and Ch'u, and I am on the way to see the King of Ch'u and persuade him to stop. If he is not pleased with this advice I shall go to see the King of Ch'in, and exert the same persuasion upon him. I shall succeed with one of them." Mencius said: "I shall not dare to ask you details of your plan, but I should like to hear your general idea. In what manner will you speak to them?" Sung K'êng replied: "I am going to tell them that their present course is unprofitable." These men evolved a system of government incorporating the principles of their philosophy which they thought would, if practised by any ruler, bring about universal peace between States and contentment among the people. In any case, even supposing that some of their more extreme statements were not true from the point of view of human nature, undoubtedly the principle of inducing each man to restrict his desires within the possible limits of satisfaction would lead men to a more contented frame of mind. Some people have classed these minor thinkers within the Mohist School, while others consider that they are true followers of Taoism.

Other philosophers of the Hundred Schools are such men as Pêng Mêng, T'ien P'ien, and Shên Tao. Chuang Tzû sums up the teaching of these men as follows: "They started their teaching with the principle of the equality of all things. They said: 'Heaven can cover a myriad things but cannot sustain them. Earth can sustain but cannot cover them.'" They knew that everything has that of which it is capable and that of which it is incapable. They strove to be impartial and non-partisan, to be easy-going and unselfish, to be decided but without predetermination, to pay no heed to anxiety, not to plan ahead, to make no discrimination between things, but simply to move in harmony with them.

Therefore Shên Tao discarded knowledge, abandoned self, followed the inevitable and was indifferent to things. One of his sayings was "knowledge is not to know". He ridiculed the world's way of preferring the virtuous, he condemned the world's great sages, he accommodated himself to circumstances, he was merely concerned with avoiding trouble; in fact, he stood loftily indifferent to everything. He maintained that creatures without knowledge are freed from the trouble of self-assertion and the entanglements of knowledge. In motion or at rest they never depart from the principles of nature, and for this reason they are never praised. "Therefore," he said, "let us be creatures without knowledge, and that will be sufficient for us. We have no use for sages, for a clod of earth does not miss the way." Men of ability laughed at him and said: "The way of Shên Tao is no practice for the living, it is a principle for the dead."

In Hsün Tzû we read: "There were some who emphasised law but had no law. They would not follow the old ways, but liked to make new ones. The upper classes listened to them and the lower classes followed them. The statements they made were systematic enough, but when one examined them

closely they would appear loose and without central ideas. They could neither reconstruct government nor establish social distinctions. Such were Shên Tao and T'ien P'ien."

In *Shên Tzŭ*, a work attributed to Shên Tao, we read: "Birds fly and fish swim without consciously doing so. It may be said that birds and fish do not know that they are able to fly and swim (they just naturally and instinctively do these things). Suppose they were to know of their ability and then consciously exerted their powers, it is certain that the birds would fall and that the fish would drown. So it is with the movements of men's feet and the act of grasping with men's hands, with the hearing of his ears and the seeing of his eyes. At the time of moving, grasping, hearing and seeing, these functions are natural and instinctive at the right moment. They do not depend on the prior functioning of thought. If thought had to precede every such action exhaustion would result (and nothing would be achieved). So it is those who bring themselves into harmony with the spontaneous in nature who survive longest and those who reach the level of the constant norm of nature who achieve the supreme life."

So many of the philosophers of the Hundred Schools dwelt on the principle of conformity with nature as the key to the supreme life that it would be well to summarise what many of the commentators have said on this matter. The troubles of mankind are, according to this school of thought, due mainly to man's obstinacy in seeking those things which he does not need (which are, in fact, bad for him), in the quest for which he has to force his way against the stream of natural energy and events. All man's sickness, whether of body or mind, may be traced to this struggle against the *tzu jan*, the "naturally so", so that only when he becomes enlightened as to the stupidity of such a practice is there any chance of his becoming a truly free man. He can free himself from the trammels of his desires only by looking at them squarely and seeing them for what they are—impediments to his attainment of true peace and happiness. Even when applied to government, the principle is the same. The inexorable laws of nature are for the most part hidden and their work is done quietly and unobtrusively in the dark. None the less, the work is done. If among men the practice of government is accompanied with much noise and bustle of activity, this does not presuppose greater efficiency. In fact, the contrary is more often the case. More is achieved in quiet and apparent inaction than by all the noisy protagonists in the world.

If life is a good, then its prolongation is also a good. If the prolongation of life is desirable then all reasonable means to that end will be taken by the man who sees clearly. Nature obviously sees clearly; man, then, will do well to bring his life into the closest possible accord with nature. He will not struggle along lines of his own seeking; he will rest himself in the main stream of nature's flowing and still make progress. Thus he will conserve his energy and live long. He will learn what are the fundamental laws of nature and bring his own actions into close accord with them. He will not allow his passions and desires to rule him; he will make them his servants. Above all he will be passive; "in the never-failing stream of time and circumstance, all things come to him who has the right attitude to life and the proper mood of reception."

At more than one point the teachings of the Hundred Schools philosophers seem to identify themselves with the principles of Taoism. The principle of

passivity, the "according with nature", the despising of mere things and making much of life, all have a ring of Taoist teaching about them. Yet it is more probable that all these various systems derived from a common source than that one was borrowed and, in part, adapted by so many writers with so many differing opinions. It is a great pity that so much of the early literature is lost; had we now before our eyes the voluminous records which greeted the gaze of Confucius when he assumed the post of Keeper of the Records, many of the problems of attribution with which we are faced to-day would be puzzles no longer.

It is clear, therefore, that before the emergence of the Confucian and Taoist systems and before the Hundred Schools put in an appearance, there was a vast body of documents recording the thoughts and principles of early sages and teachers. From this undigested mass Confucius selected that which appealed to his sense of rightness and justice. He brooded upon it during his official life and in due time produced his own system, based on the teachings "of the ancient Sages". It is the nature of strongly individualistic man to revolt against regimentation and systematisation, so it was no long time before there rose up men who challenged one or another of the Confucian tenets. Some, like the early Taoists, achieved their system at one stroke. They would not attack any system piecemeal; for them the only government was no government at all, for their action was achieved by the principle of *wu wei* (not so much a literal "doing nothing" as a passive acceptance of things as they are and a merging of the individual effort in the all-embracing stream of natural flowing). The Taoists were in many ways true followers of Heraclitus; for them "everything flowed". If all things could be made to flow the one way, so much the better for mankind as a whole. If not, then those who submerged themselves in the primeval flood which continuously passed on through life would save themselves whole; those who forced their way onward against this natural stream would disappear from the scene all the more quickly.

In any event nothing much could be done about the mass of men. They were beyond salvation anyway, for they were wedded to their illusions and were the slaves of their desires. But some men could become wise. They could learn, say the commentators, that there are various kinds of pleasure and that those which man so steadily seeks so unintelligently, are not by any means the best. He seeks them because he sees the bulk of his fellows on the same quest; he does not stop to ask whether they are worth while. Some soon learn that one of the greatest of intellectual pleasures is the denying oneself just those pleasures which attract the majority of men.

In view of the disturbances of the times in which these philosophers lived it is not surprising that they did not, in their lifetime, attract a great deal of attention. Men were too busy seeking their own safety and physical survival to worry much about whether they were following the correct system. They were much more likely to listen to a philosopher who would promise them an earthly paradise rather than preach dull truths about spiritual realities or the practice of righteousness being its own reward. But no such philosopher appeared until Yung Chu systematised the old teachings on hedonism and taught, in effect, that "men live but once, let them enjoy the light of the sun while they may; eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow there will be no

difference between your rotting bones and those of the worst rascals and greatest sages of antiquity." Small wonder that Mencius found "the ears of the people filled with the words of Yang" and set himself to "drive out such licentious expressions".

VIII. THE YIN-YANG SCHOOL AND FIVE ELEMENTS SCHOOL

From the writers of the Han dynasty we learn that among the influential philosophers of the Chou dynasty were the teachers of the Yin-Yang School. Now *yin* connotes female, cold, dark, moisture, quietude, passivity, etc., while *yang* connotes male, light, warmth, dryness, movement, activity, etc. These philosophers developed a system of correspondences between the phenomena of nature and the activities of man, not on an astrological but on a cosmological basis. To be sure their philosophy included a "cycle of sages" which would occur and recur, but prognostication formed no essential part of their scheme. Tsou Yen, a voluminous writer and a head of the School, deplored the increasing self-indulgence and general laxity of the rulers of his time and, like most of the other philosophers, harked back to the sages of old. He also looked forward to the re-establishment of a Golden Age when sage rulers would once more bring peace and happiness to the people. He examined into the waxing and waning of the two great principles of Yin and Yang; so must it be with the history of man. To achieve that which is afar off, one must begin with what is near; to tackle mighty problems one must begin when they are small. He traced back events from his own day to the days of the Yellow Emperor and showed the logical progression of events. He began with small things and matters under the eye; he then enlarged his vision until everything in the universe and in human experience came into his ken. He developed his own geography on which he based a new natural philosophy which was to show men that only accord with nature would relieve them of their present troubles and lead them to avoid errors in the future. Knowledge of the world and the cosmic system would demonstrate man's place in that system and show him the orderly progression along well-defined lines of development.

The Yin-Yang School did not show a great following at any particular time, but many elements of the teaching permeated other systems of thought and made themselves felt in Chinese natural philosophy and primitive science. Tsou Yen was honoured in his lifetime but not widely esteemed after his death.

In *Shang Shu* (the Book of History) we find a section known as *Hung Fan*, familiar to generations of students as "the Great Norm". In this we read:—

"Heaven gave to Yü the Great Norm in nine categories and set forth the proper order of social relationships. The first category is called the Five Elements . . . The first is water, the second fire, the third wood, the fourth metal and the fifth earth. The nature of water is to moisten and descend; of fire to burn and ascend; of wood to be crooked and straight; of metal to yield and be modified; and of earth to provide for sowing and reaping.

"That which moistens and descends produces salt; that which burns and ascends becomes bitter; that which is crooked and straight becomes sour; that which yields and is modified becomes acrid; and sowing and reaping produce sweetness."

We do not know who was the author of *Hung Fan*, but the text forms one of the bases of the Five Elements School. Another text, *Yüeh Ling*, likewise anonymous, explains that each season has one of the Five Powers dominant during its course. "In spring, wood is the dominant power ; in summer, fire ; in autumn, metal ; and in winter it is water." Upon this basis a comprehensive programme of behaviour for the Emperor and his Court is built up : all, it will be seen following the line of close accordance with the principles governing nature. The laws of nature, once determined, must be followed strictly or dire consequences will befall. The decay of the State and the ruin of the time-honoured feudal system, with its contentment and prosperity, was attributable, in the view of the Five Elements Philosophers, to the general *éloignement* from these fundamental natural principles.

The full system of the Five Elements and its subdivisions is so complicated that we will not weary the reader by recounting it here. A great deal of thought had been expended upon it before it reached even the semblance of a system of philosophy. Numerous critics have said that these thinkers "were full of strange and extravagant ideas which led men into odd bypaths and taught them nothing useful at all."

These philosophers believed they had discovered a basic connection between human action and natural phenomena. In *Kuan Tz'u* we read :—

"Thus *yin* and *yang* are the great principles of Heaven and Earth. The four seasons are the wide path of *yin* and *yang* and reward and punishment bring into harmony the four seasons. If this harmony is maintained and not disturbed, happiness is the result ; when there is disharmony then calamity is the natural result."

Though many acute thinkers foresaw the eventual degeneration of the Five Elements and Yin-Yang Schools into mere sorcery and witchcraft (which duly came to pass) and thereon based their condemnation of the systems, there is abundant evidence to show that during the Ch'in and Han dynasties these two Schools held the field so far as popular esteem went. It needed the vigorous brush of Wang Ch'ung, in the first century A.D., to sweep away the debased theories which were all that were left of a sincere desire on the part of deep thinkers to link man logically with the nature which gave him birth.

IX. THE DIALECTICIANS

During the Warring States period there was a school of philosophers which exerted no little influence in its time. It provoked the anger of many of the more decided apologists, such as Chuang Tz'u, and it bore a strong resemblance in many of its pronouncements to the Sophists of Ancient Greece against whom Plato levelled so many criticisms. This school was known as *Hsing ming chia* and its members were known as *pien ché*, or Dialecticians.

It has already been remarked that Confucius lamented the fact that it had become the custom in his day to use words loosely "so that ideas no longer agreed with the words used to designate them, and when men speak they do not know exactly the meaning of what they say". One of the avowed objects of the Dialecticians was to shock people into a realisation of this state of affairs and

teach them to mend their ways. Hence the main teaching of this school, so far as it has come down to us, consists of paradoxes which are arresting and provocative in form.

Time and circumstances have dealt unkindly with the Dialecticians. Save for some single essays by Kung-sun Lung Tzū, all we have left of their teachings are fragments quoted by other writers (and these mostly critical of the theses they quote). We know in many cases that the paradoxes with which we are faced as the pronouncements of this school are but the conclusions arrived at after a long process of logical inquiry and debate. But the intermediate steps are no longer extant and we can but guess at the stages by which the startling conclusions were reached.

It is certain, however, that the times called for a redefinition of terms. Confucius had insisted upon the need for the "rectification of names" and he was destined to receive valuable support from a distinguished thinker and writer of a later age, the philosopher Hsün Tzū. Those who remember the Nazi and Fascist distortion of plain meanings so that in their various edicts a new dictionary of definitions was needed to interpret the statutes aright, will realise how necessary the Dialecticians found it to evolve a series of arguments destined to bring out the full force of terms used in current argument and debate.

But the Dialecticians faced abuse and ridicule. When Kung-sun Lung Tzū proposed his thesis that "a white horse is not a horse", there were not wanting those who leapt to the attack on this "verbal trickster", not waiting to discover just what was the point of his argument.

Yet the clue is simple. A white horse is a horse in particular, whereas a horse is a horse in general. People had become so accustomed to jumble their terms and phrases, taking the "near enough" for "exactly so", that the apostles of the new school determined to show that exactness in speech and definition was a necessary step toward exact thinking. If, therefore, you specify a horse in particular—a white horse—nothing but a white horse will do. But a horse in general is just a horse—it has the quality of "horseness" untrammelled by any considerations of colour or other quality. We have the whole of Kung-sun Lung Tzū's essay, *Pai Ma Lun* (A Discussion on the White Horse), so we may judge of the type of argument used by other philosophers of this school.

In *Shih Chi* (the Historical Record) we read : -

"The Dialecticians, in very complex and elaborate statements, made closely minute investigation into trifling matters in such a way as to make it impossible for others to refute their arguments. Their particular interest was the definition of terms, but in their arguments they made no allowance for human nature. Thus, I, Ssü-ma T'an, say that they lead men to be sparing in the use of words and this makes it easy to lose the truth. Yet to enforce true correspondence between names and actualities and to impose logical order in argument so as to avoid error is an essential task."

Another of the famous essays of this same Kung-sun Lung Tzū is the Essay on the Hard and the White, *Chien Pai Lun*. In this he again labours the point of the general and the particular and the resultant confusion in the mind of the ordinary man who is not taught in the use of terms. A stone, for example, can

be both hard and white ; but these qualities do not constitute permanent associations, for there are stones which are neither hard nor white. There are yet others which are the one but not the other. Is it, in fact, not logically absurd to associate in permanent union two diverse qualities which, in a fortuitous case under observation, happen to be combined ? That which is hard is hard because that is its nature ; such hardness may be apprehended or confirmed by the sense of touch, but not by such other senses as sight or taste or hearing. The fact of whiteness may be predicated by the effect of sight, but not on the sense of touch or hearing or taste. The interplay of sensation and intelligent apprehension is given full play and analysis in the fragments which have come down to us and in view of the conclusions reached by other thinkers of the school, we have lost much in not having the logical arguments by which these steps were taken.

Of Hui Tzú, another of the leading Dialecticians, we know only what Chuang Tzú tells us. He "favoured empty disputation", we are told, but this is only another way of (Chuang Tzú) saying that he argued in an unorthodox manner to reach extraordinary conclusions. We have, indeed, some of his paradoxes (see Classics), but none of his arguments *in extenso*.

Before leaving this section we may take a brief survey of several other thinkers whose works are not yet available to the non-Chinese reader. Some of these men have as little right to the description "philosopher" as Alfred Rosenberg and other Nazi apologists. They evolved systems of behaviour, true, but they did not, in any sense, found a school of thought. What they taught was revolting to the trained and thoughtful man. They made the basis of their teaching a political opportunism, which was to be followed so long as it served the interests of the ruler and his Ministers, but which was to be abandoned the moment it had served its turn, no matter what solemn undertakings had been entered into meanwhile.

Perhaps the chief among this section is Wang Hsü, better known under the name of Kuei Ku Tzú. In a small work of some fourteen sections he taught a system of political alliances "for just so long as they shall be of use to secure us our ends". Thereafter, whatever trouble or danger might be caused to other parties to the agreements, they could be scrapped. If possible, all such moves should be kept from one's neighbours and allies until concealment was no longer possible, then one should blandly state that circumstances had changed and it had been found more profitable to abandon the old position. There is no sense of shame in all this. The advantage of the moment is the prize and the clever man is he who can seize and hold it against those afflicted with scruples.

Kuei Ku Tzú begins by discussing "Opening and Shutting." This is with reference to a universal door which is operated by the Yin-Yang principle. To the well-trained political opportunist (especially if he be at the same time a good persuader) the door is open at the right time for his entry and closed at the right time against the entry of those who would do him harm. Then another chapter deals with the operation of the "Inner Bolt", whereby the consequences of the ruler's unscrupulous actions may be shut out. In the section entitled "The Balance of Adjustment of Schisms" the unscrupulous ruler and his advisers are taught the elements of suppression of unwanted criticism and opposition in true Gestapo style. The ruler and his ministers are to use the

"Flying Pincers" (title of yet another section of the book) to make people realise that opposition does not pay. In fact, the whole work might have been used by Nazi Germany in its building of a National Socialist State.

Another of like persuasion, to whom the law was all that mattered and whose thesis was that the people existed only for the law and the State, was Têng Hsi Tzŭ, who has left us a small work setting forth his ideas. Such men as Kuei Ku Tzŭ and Têng Hsi Tzŭ had a vigorous following in their day. They instructed many pupils, who later exerted great influence over the rulers of different States and thus led to the age of blood and iron, which ended logically in the totalitarian régime of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti.

One gem of truth does, indeed, emerge from Têng Hsi Tzŭ. Discussing the arguments of the politicians and leaders of his time, he says that centuries of disputation about like and unlike, right and wrong and similar opposites had ended inconclusively. This is because they will treat them as concrete matters to be examined in detail as *things*. They are, of course, *principles*, though Têng Hsi Tzŭ does not at any time reach such a lofty height that he can treat them as such.

Shih Chiao, or Shih Tzŭ, complains that, in his time, doctrines on government are of ten varieties, all contending for the mastery and all claiming to be right. This, he says, is absurd, for the truth must be single and unequivocal. The truth must be that which instantly appeals to the intelligent mind as that which is because *it must be so*. If people will go on disputing about words and slogans, they will, of course, get lost in their own verbiage and the truth will remain undiscovered. In truth verbal definition is vitally necessary in one detail—the law—let that be admitted and the definition made and all that remains is to apply the law in its full power for good rule to be established. No provision is, however, made for that other part of man, just as hungry as his body and not so amenable to statute.

All these writers found their master and prime demonstrator in Wei Yang, the Lord of Shang. In a work known as *Shang Tzŭ* (available to English readers in an excellent translation by J. J. L. Duyvendak, of Leiden University) the whole barrenness of the Legalist School lies bared to the gaze of the attentive reader. None reading this work will ever again be in any doubt as to whether the State and the law should serve the good of man or dominate him.

Shên Tzŭ, mentioned above, page 326, belongs also to this school. But Shên Tao had a different approach to the eternal problem of man's place in the world and, moreover, he displayed some sense of morality.

Another writer of this school who still awaits a translator is Kuan Chung (or Kuan I-wu). At least it is to him that the work which has come down to us under the name *Kuan Tzŭ* is attributed. But from internal evidence it is clear that the book in its present form could never have come from the hand of its supposed author. It is best regarded as a compilation over a period of centuries; it probably achieved its present form some time during the fourth century B.C.

Whoever the actual author was it is clear that he was a Taoist. He was also a man of no mean ability, even in literary patchwork. His work falls naturally into thirds, the first two-thirds being fairly cohesive and consistent,

and the final third being "make-up" of an inferior order. He begins by an attempt to make people realise the existence of a Prime Principle governing the world and life ; he then explains the action of the discovered principle and shows the paramount necessity for politicians and leaders generally to bring themselves into accord with that principle. This Principle, which produced all that is, is innate in them and claims them for itself. Hence, any great departure from the action of the Principle leads to disaster and the greater the departure the greater the disruption.

Much is made of the Taoist principle of quietism and inaction. Such inaction brings about (among the people) an equilibrium which enables the ruler to mould them by laws and regulations to his will. Thus intelligent activity among the common people is to be discouraged, for if they begin to think for themselves they may be led to question the edicts of the ruler. "Whoso knows much has many desires. From this knowledge and these desires arise restlessness and dissatisfaction. Those who know little or nothing are peaceful and easily satisfied."

Cleverly *Kuan Tzū* unfolds the scheme for making the ruling of mankind as easy and complete as possible. The dominant feature is that the less the people have to do with government the better.

Another of the Hundred Schools men, an independent thinker among many who followed the same general system differing only in details, was Ho Kuan Tzū. He went back to the beginning of things, almost to the point of making his own cosmology. There existed in the beginning a Supreme One, unknown but not unknowable ; unnamed but eventually to be named. There was but an Unity for this thinker ; no duality of Heaven and Earth, which had by now become the accepted thesis, but a Heaven alone. The task of Heaven is to unify the whole world of phenomena (another glimpse of that internationalism of man and Nature which alone will make mankind capable of fulfilling its destiny).

On the subject of unity and unification Ho Kuan Tzū becomes lyrical—almost too lyrical for a philosopher ! He sees also that the besetting sin is egoism and selfishness. "Seek nothing for yourself alone, only what is for the general good is permissible." He sees clearly that popular esteem is based in error, for those who really benefit the world of men and who save them from great distress are overlooked, or even unknown. The medals and the rewards go to others who, though popular idols, have done nothing to deserve the tokens they receive, who are, in truth, the lowest class of the community. How like our own day was the time of Ho Kuan Tzū !

Han Fei Tzū came later, but he was also a Legalist with a deep interest in the teachings of Taoism. In his comprehensive writings we have some very valuable observation on the interpretation (in his day) of the Taoist Canon. He was the special pleader ; indeed, several of his essays deal with the art of persuasion whereby those who think differently from the man who is in a position to enforce his views, shall be "persuaded" to alter their thoughts and come into line with "national policy". At least in one thing we can agree with Han Fei : "The law should be so simply set down that neither officers of the Crown nor the common herd can be in any doubt as to its meaning." Is it too much to hope

that our modern world will some day read Han Fei Tzǔ ? We are not in accord with him on many points, nor, in fact, have been his own countrymen through the twenty-three centuries which have elapsed since he formulated his theories. Fear of consequences is to enforce popular obedience to the law. As is to be expected, all earlier schools come under Han Fei's displeasure, but he does not reach their level.

But we have already spent too much time on these thinkers. If in reading them we are frequently reminded of the Cynic School of Ancient Greece, we find a voice here and there which echoes Pyrrho and his School of Sceptics. Even as Pyrrho taught the need to doubt everything (even one's own doubts) so there are Chinese thinkers who express a healthy suspicion of theses which had for generations in their own time been taken for granted. Slowly through the Period of the Philosophers grew the realisation that the central principle of true thought, of philosophy, was the constant challenge. To hear a pronouncement was to challenge it, holding it mentally at arm's length, looking at it from every angle and judging of its worthiness to stand beside the true discoveries of the human mind.

For these men there emerged the truth that man will deceive himself for ever if all he seeks is self-interest. A thesis may be made out for any idea which will serve the ends of self. But time had shown that over a period in daily experience, such theses as had been based in self-interest would surely fail in times of stress. Man might be tied to the wheel of the State for a time, but he would not remain there for ever. Chinese scepticism was not so formalised as it was with Pyrrho ; but it was there, and from time to time it exerted its full influence on the philosophic schools.

The Legalist School exerted great influence on its age. It culminated in the totalitarian régime of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in the middle of the third century B.C. It lasted a bare forty years. The people, who were to be kept ignorant so that they would be pliant and bend their necks to the yoke, decided that they knew a better system of thought than that possessed by their rulers. They turned them out to make way for the glorious Han dynasty, which was to restore to them those essential values which the teachings of the Legalists denied them.

X. HSUN TZU AND MENCIUS

Both these great leaders of Chinese thought have been fairly fully dealt with in *Classics* (pp. 17-20 and pp. 36-38), but such has been their influence throughout the development of Chinese thought and education that a brief summary of their opinions must be given here. Some have found the teachings of Confucius rather " dry and uninspired ", however sound ethically they may be. None, on the other hand, has found Mencius anything but stimulating and provocative. In addition, Mencius is a master of style. His flowing periods have a dignity and an appeal which carry the reader along on a wave of enthusiasm.

Wherever Confucius enunciated a plain truth in the form of a simple axiom (so self-evident in his view that it needed no embellishment from him), Mencius would take up the point and develop it with vigour, often adding an illustration from ancient or contemporary history. But the great merit of Mencius is that he is the first in the Confucian School to introduce psychology and abstract

morality as principles of the Confucian system. Mencius did not agree with the ancient Romans that morality issued from conventional practice (in fact, he spent a great deal of his time arguing against this thesis as it was advanced by the philosopher Kao Tzū). For Mencius, morality was an inborn constituent of man. Life in accordance with this constituent was the good life, such as would produce the *Chün Tzū*, or perfect citizen. It was the whole burden of his teaching to bring rulers and citizens alike to practise this accord and thus make China the supreme cultural and moral influence in a world adrift.

There is an astonishing parallel in Mencius to a certain tenet of Christianity. "The heart of the infant," says Mencius, "is naturally so inclined toward the good as to exclude all evil." It naturally follows that "Those who are great among men are those who, throughout their lives, do not lose their childlike heart." There is, of course, a difference in "becoming again as little children" (which implies a departure from original purity and a regaining of something lost) and the Mencian *maintaining* a childlike heart. But the Confucian system also feels and declares that the original goodness of mankind is contaminated by contact with the world. He must, indeed, be a great man, who can, through all such contacts, preserve a childlike nature.

This innate moral instinct is, of necessity, accompanied by four innate dispositions : (1) One should do to others that good which, alone, is expedient. (2) One should protect others from all evils which make for inexpediency. (3) One should repress one's egoism and selfish desires and become altruistic. (4) One should develop one's discrimination as between right and wrong and thus discover true expediency.

For Mencius, all human beings at birth were identical as grains in the hand of a sower. Why, then, do men in the world differ so widely from one another ? The answer is that although the grains sown may be alike, the springing corn is not identical, shoot by shoot. The effect of numerous incidents after the planting and during the growing of the grain ensures the flourishing of some stalks and the withering or partial development of others. So with men. All begin alike, but in their manifold contacts with the world, some are tended and grow strong, while others are battered and decline or die.

Hsün Tzū might have been as influential a pillar of the Confucian edifice as Mencius had he not challenged, with all his vigour, this thesis of the essential goodness of human nature. We will not repeat here that extract from his great essay, "That the Nature of Man is Evil," already printed in *Classics* ; we will merely recall to the reader the argument that were the nature of man really innately good there would be no need for education and laws to keep men on the right path. Hsün Tzū said of other philosophers of his time that their arguments were securely based and hard to refute ; certainly the reader of *Hsing O Pien* will find the writer most convincing in his argument that the nature of man does not show "abiding good" ; that it needs all the adventitious aids of human ingenuity to bring it to a state of tolerable correctness.

Hsün Tzū, like Mencius, had a brilliant and convincing style. His collected works have received, down the centuries, almost as much attention as the Canon itself. Perhaps his greatest contribution is historical, for he gives us a clear

picture of Confucian thought as it was in his day, before the numerous contaminating influences which were later to affect it had begun to make themselves felt.

The Period of the Philosophers was drawing to its close. There was Han Fei Tzū, half Taoist, half Legalist ; there was Huai Nan Tzū, wholly Taoist, with his mystical arguments on the themes of Lao Tzū and Chuang Tzū. But the glory had departed. The brief flame flickered and died, in China as in ancient Greece, half a world away, and the world was never to see such clarity of thought again. Plato and Confucius, Aristotle and Mencius ; such men as these are not born in every generation. So far as human experience goes, such men are born but once for all time and the experiment may not be essayed again.

XI. THE YEARS BETWEEN

With the coming of the Han dynasty philosophy became a simple matter of discussions among the Schoolmen, leading to the compiling of commentaries in elucidation of the received texts. We owe much to the Han scholars ; had they not worked so zealously our present store, meagre enough compared with the vast repositories of late Chou times, would be much less than it now is. Arduously they laboured to rescue writings known to have existed ; they went through the Empire in quest of writings and men whose retentive memories held the actual words of the pronouncements of ancient worthies. The Han recension of the Confucian Canon held the field for a full thousand years before one was found worthy to displace it.

One of the outstanding figures of early Han philosophy is Tung Chung-shu. He refuted both Mencius and Hsün Tzū in the matter of human nature ; it is neither good nor bad, but partakes of either quality in accordance with the predominance in it at any given time of personal predilections or impulses towards selfishness or altruism. His writings are extensive (under the title *Ch'un Ch'iu fan lu*) but are not yet translated. They exerted no little influence over the thought of succeeding centuries—there is even a suspicion that the great Han Yü of the T'ang dynasty based his own essay on Human Nature on the principles laid down by Tung Chung-shu.

About the middle of the Han dynasty appeared Yang Hsiung, who wrote a small work called *Fa Yen*, of which no foreign version has yet been made. He, still pursuing the great problem of human nature, effected a compromise by which the nature of man was deemed to be half good and half bad. He concluded by affirming that man became just what training and practice plus experience of the world and his fellows make of him. In effect, man is the product of his environment—not a very convincing or inspiring creed ; one, moreover, which has been disproved throughout history.

A much greater man greets us early in the first century A.D. Wang Ch'ung wrote what is perhaps the most valuable work after the Period of the Philosophers, *Lun Hêng*, or The Balance of Discussions. Wang Ch'ung may be called the Realist of Chinese philosophy. He paid no respect to names or reputations ; the value, in themselves, of the theories held by different writers was all that mattered. He was extremely critical and examined logically all the existing beliefs and superstitions. He mercilessly condemned muddled thinking and half-baked ideologies and went on to prove that only logical thinking could

effect logical expression. He exposed the falsity of many current ideas as due to imperfect knowledge, and many of his animadversions would be as much to the point in our own twentieth century world as they were in his own. His work, consisting of 84 essays, is a refreshing breeze sweeping through a dusty museum of preconceived notions and stupid prejudice.

The day of philosophic Schools was over. Of all the Schools which had flourished so vigorously during the later Chou period but one remained—that of Confucius. This School grew in strength as the centuries passed, in spite of the introduction of Buddhism and the patronage by various Emperors of the cult of Taoism. From Han to Sung little was done except to develop and reissue the old Han commentaries and texts of the Confucian Canon; nothing new in the way of philosophical speculation made its appearance. The Schools had arisen and all but one had died. The old works were read and re-read; here and there a leisured scholar would write a commentary on a non-Confucian work, but there was no new inspiration. Buddhism was a religion and a religion only. Not yet was its philosophy to make itself felt against, or in concert with, the indigenous systems of thought. Under the T'ang there was something of the nature of spiritualism, but it amounted to little.

With the Sung dynasty we reach a new era of philosophic interpretation. No new philosophies, no new Schools, indeed, but a new recension of the Confucian Canon leading to so radical a change in interpretation that the neo-Confucian School was the result. Many illustrious names throng the mine: Chou Tun-i, Ch'ên Tuan, Shao Yung, Chang Tsai, Ch'êng Hao, Ch'êng I; and, towering above them all, his stature not diminished by the passing of eight centuries, the great Chu Hsi.

Chu Hsi completely revolutionised the reading and interpretation of the Confucian Canon. He threw overboard much of the speculation of the Han philosophers and scholars, declaring a policy of strict adherence to literal and consistent renderings. When the exact meaning of a technical term had been determined, it was to be so used wherever it occurred elsewhere in the Canon and no adjustments not justified by this principle were to be tolerated. His commentary on the whole Canon was adopted as standard. From his time down to the revision of the university and education system under the Republic his commentary was the one all candidates at the competitive examinations were expected to know. The best scholars in olden time not only knew the Canon by heart, they carried the greater part of Chu Hsi's commentary in their heads as well.

Another achievement of this remarkable man was the major share in a gigantic *corpus* entitled *Hsing li ta ch'üan* or "A Compendious Study of Human Nature." He was also a poet of no mean order.

The last name in this brief survey of Chinese philosophic thought and achievement must be that of Wang Yang-ming (Wang Shou-jén) of the sixteenth century. He aught a subjective type of Confucianism, somewhat sentimentalising an "intuitive Confucius" dwelling in each individual. In one way he was the Buchman of his time, inviting his colleagues to set down their woes and problems, to which he would reply in verse. He had no little success for a time, but the practical Chinese soon wearied of his voluminous writings and sweet verses. His influence in Japan was, however, maintained through all the years

down to our own time. During our residence in that unhappy land we read some eleven editions of his complete works, and as we said good-bye for the last time yet another was issuing from the press.

XII. CONCLUSION

Have we, then, found the answer to our question—"What is the use of philosophy?" If we are not satisfied with the replies of Diogenes, the Cynic Philosopher of Ancient Greece (see front end-paper) have we failed to find an answer among the teachings of Ancient China?

We remember once looking over a roof garden in the centre of a modern cement city. Suddenly our host viciously pulled out from his cherished bed a dandelion plant which had taken firm hold. "Now where on earth did that come from?" he asked; "there are no fields or open gardens within miles of this place and we are, moreover, ten stories up." It may be that a Yin-Yang or a Five Elements philosopher would maintain that the great primeval Cause had directed an especial wind-current to whirl the seed, from which the plant came, exactly to that place; that thereafter a succession of raindrops was caused to fall upon it, driving it into its predestined bed. Even the forcible uprooting before it had reached full growth may have been encompassed in the Great Scheme.

There are many who will scoff at such an idea. There are others who will remember another who said that all the hairs of our head are numbered and that not even a humble sparrow falls unnoticed to the ground. But whatever view we take it cannot be denied that thought on all these matters is of first importance in our day, as it has always been. History will bear us out when we say that it has for ever been of greater moment to the world what man has thought than what he has done. Had he thought always before doing, how many bitter tragedies mankind would have been saved! But had he not thought at all . . . ?

For *thinking* man will stop doing that which is harmful to himself and to his kind. That is what is needed to-day. Can one think of wars, crimes of violence and black market operations in a world conscious of its duty and its destiny? Men learn the fable of the stupid dog foregoing the substance for the shadow while they are yet at school; in the world of men they hasten to turn themselves into packs of stupid dogs. For what are true riches? They are not the tokens which can be stored in banks and vaults and which can, at the best, buy other things like themselves. They are the elements of wisdom which have come down the ages to us in the words and experience of men who have truly lived and left a noble name.

Palladas enshrined one aspect of the truth in his lines :—

" Naked I reached the world at birth
Naked I pass beneath the earth,
Why toil I then in vain distress
Seeing the end is nakedness ? "

How many still fail to see that riches and great possessions are more a liability than an asset ! True riches are those which, like wisdom and beauty, grow by being shared. These are not dissipated among many like material treasure.

But the real use of philosophy is that gift of the wider view and the broader judgment it brings to its devotees. No narrow sectionalism, no fanatical partisanship will satisfy the man who is custodian of all the world's thinking. He will see, pityingly, the schisms and frenzies which rend mankind when the great need is for the closer working of man with man. He will see his own in the same light as he sees his neighbour's, and he will know that no man, no creed, no school, no faith has a monopoly of truth.

I do not claim my God is God alone :
 All gods are God to me and all are One.
 Those who set forth the skies of Homer's day
 Now shed their light on fields of far Cathay
 Just as they smile on Thames or Seine a gleam
 Or touch the eyes of lovers in a dream.

All things God made show God himself to me.
 How shall I fail to look and, looking, see
 The pattern of all time unfold in space
 As tribute to His never wearied grace ?
 I do not claim my God is God alone
 Nor would myself presume to build His Throne.

There is much unrest in the world to-day. There are also many who are prepared to diagnose the malady and prescribe a cure. But all too often their prescription is an old economic or political nostrum dressed in a new label. We were told by the Greeks of twenty-five centuries ago all that we now know of democracy and government institutions and every departure we make from their thesis leads us into disaster. We were told by the early Chinese that man must live in accord with nature and adopt her rhythm if he would survive. In this (miscalled) atomic age we shall soon have a chance to discover how much of the truth these ancient sages possessed.

How many of those who so glibly prate of the atom bomb and its probable future know that the atomic theory was formulated by Leucippus and Democritus in Greece twenty-six centuries ago ? How many have read Lucretius and dared to challenge him ? How many think that a simple creed firmly held absolves them from the exercise of the God-given power of thought ? How frequently do we hear boasts of human progress when the " progress " is, in fact, a marching forward into error ?

The lesson of philosophy is the teaching of the perpetual challenge. Things change, but they do not necessarily thereby advance. The philosopher sees that change can be backward and evil rather more often than forward and good. He knows that what has been is often better than that which is ; and to the inane

modern claim that "one cannot halt progress and the advance of science," he gives the Socratic and Dialectician rejoinder, "Are you sure of your progress and what precisely do you mean by the advance of science?" Yes, it is as simple as that. Modern man takes his world as his newspaper and cinema screen present it to him; he loses all the delight of building his own.

The early Greeks taught that the human body is the prison of the soul. But not content with that, man has built himself a row of prisons in which he passes his days immured with never a glimpse of the sky.

There is no time to watch the birds at play ;
No time for children, flow'rs and running stream.
We are enslaved. We spend our mortal day
Fighting the things we made. As in a dream
We struggle with ourselves. For the sublime
We have no time.

There is no time for thought, for faith, for song.
No time for verse : these things bring in no gold.
We have been shackled to the wheel too long :
Before we are grown up we are too old.
O senseless age of men who have no time
For things sublime.

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COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PHILOSOPHERS

B.C.

1000	Classics of <i>Poetry, Changes and History</i>				Homer.	
	(In part.)					
600-500	Confucius	...	...	...	Pythagoras.	Buddha.
500-400	Mo Tzŭ	Yang Chu	...	...	Heracleitus.	
	Tsêng Tzŭ	...	...	...	Socrates.	
					Plato.	
400-300	Mencius	Hui Shih	...	...	Aristotle.	
	Chuang Tzŭ	Shang Yang	...	...	Epicurus.	
300-200	Hsün Tzŭ	Shên Tao.				
	Han Fei	Shên Pu-hai.				
	Kung-sun Lung Tzŭ.					
	Tsou	Yen.				
200-100	Tung Chung-shu.					
	Orthodox Confucianism.					
100-	Liu Hsin	Huai Nan Tzŭ	...		Cicero.	
A.D. 100	Liu Hsiang	...	...	...	Seneca.	

This table is for convenience of placing the various streams of thought, East and West. It does not profess to be exhaustive ; only the leaders in each field have been noted.

THE CHINESE DYNASTIES

Hsia Dynasty	2205–1766 B.C.
Shang Dynasty	1766–1122 B.C.
Chou Dynasty	1122– 258 B.C.
(Warring States Period)	481– 205 B.C.
Ch'in Dynasty	258– 207 B.C.
Han Dynasty	206 B.C.–A.D. 221
Three Kingdoms	A.D. 221– 317
Division between North and South	A.D. 317– 589
Sui Dynasty	A.D. 589– 618
T'ang Dynasty	A.D. 618– 907
Five Dynasties	A.D. 907– 960
Sung Dynasty	A.D. 960–1278
Yüan (Mongol) Dynasty	A.D. 1278–1368
Ming Dynasty	A.D. 1368–1644
Ch'ing Dynasty	A.D. 1644–1911
The Chinese Republic	A.D. 1911–

POSTSCRIPT

THE ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS WHICH FORM THE BASIS OF THE PRESENT MANUAL have now been before the public long enough for us to be able to assess their value in what they attempted to do. Such an undertaking under all the difficulties of wartime (including air-raids and other dislocations) was hazardous ; it was even doubtful whether it had a sufficient audience to make the effort worth while.

Any doubts we originally had were soon dispelled. Almost at once letters reached us, pointing out errors, suggesting additions or alterations, seeking clarification on points not quite clear and, best of all, inquiries as to the next step to be taken. One of our fears had been that if our venture was in any way a success it would perhaps be because the little publications were accepted as complete manuals, that one who had mastered what was in them could consider himself adequately equipped.

The most popular proved to be History, Classics and Philosophy. These also brought most response in the way of requests for additional information and guidance for further study. Those students (many of them Service men) who had been set down before a comprehensive history of China found that " a small work which gives a co-ordinated account of the history of China in fewer than thirty pages, is a good preparation for the more detailed textbook ". That, indeed, was and remains the function of the brief history of China.

With regard to Classics and Philosophy, it was surprising to find how great was the interest shown. Classicists have for a long time deplored the steady waning of interest in their chosen field of study ; but here was evidence that the general public was far from indifferent to the lessons the Classics had to teach. We were taken to task for not introducing many more parallels from Greek and Roman literature ; we were reproached for not including similar quotations from other Eastern writings (see Bibliographical Postscript, p. 351). In some cases we were asked to supply such deficiencies by letter to the critic direct and this was done. If we have any excuse at all it is to be found in the penultimate sentence of the Classics section on page 219. When cutting had to be done we felt that it had better be in the footnotes containing the text and version of parallels, rather than in the body of the work, which had already attempted too much in the available space.

The main idea in presenting to the public such a series of publications was to provoke interest—such interest, it was hoped, as would lead to further study. There was never any intention on our part to provide a " royal road " (largely because our own experience has taught us that no such thoroughfare exists) ; or to lead readers to imagine that they had all the essentials within their grasp when they had a mere pamphlet. Yet many people accused us of not going far enough in our *oeuvre de vulgarisation*. " You leave off," they said, " just at the point where we are ready to follow you to the end." Although this shows that we achieved what we set out to accomplish, it does make us feel that there may be room for more comprehensive manuals on vitally important aspects of Chinese life and culture.

But some of the more serious points raised by our readers may be dealt with here by way of postscript. "Your pamphlet, lent me by a friend, opened my eyes to what philosophy has to offer our tormented age. Would I had known of this many years ago . . ."

Two points are here. "Our tormented age"—it is a commonplace for those sensitive spirits who rebel vigorously against current disorders to imagine that this, *and this only*, is a tormented age. Let all who think so take down their Aeschylus and Euripides and read them again; let them see how like to our own times were the days when these Hellenic giants trod the earth. Let them read any one of the twenty-five dynastic histories of China (even that of the "glorious T'ang", the Golden Age of Poetry and Culture); let them read the great histories of India, of Babylonia, Assyria, Greece and Rome—in each generation they will find "torment" for some or for all. For this is life and the stuff of life itself. "Until the gem be cut and polished it is valueless; until man has known adversity he is no man," says the old Chinese text. It is paralleled by the saying of Demetrius (quoted by Seneca in *de Providentia*, III, iii: *nihil mihi videtur infelicius eo, cui nihil unquam evenit adversi*—no man seems to me more unhappy than one who has never met with adversity).

Our age does, indeed, stand in need of philosophy; the greatest proof of this is that the age, while unaware of the cause of the sickness, knows at least that it is sick. But men will continually set up false gods for worship, neglecting the lessons of the past. Their torment is, if not of their own making, founded in the ignorance which, but for their sloth, would have vanished long ago.

As for wishing that one had known of these things long ago, once more it is a question of essential values and of vision. Men are not predestined to blindness, but they often refuse to see what is before their eyes. It is easier to hand the burden to a faith, a Church, a political party or an economic group than to think for oneself and find out as much as life permits of the essential truth of things. But life (true life) was never easy. It is a struggle against all those adverse factors which set out to dam up the approach to ultimate truth.

How many people stop to ask themselves what sort of use they make of their time? So many things done again and again, without conscious joy or even satisfaction, because the vision is not there to show what might be done with the passing hours. The elementary need for a good philosopher—that constant interest and sense of wonder; the wishing to know, the unending thought "about it and about"—is sadly lacking and men continue to tread the well-known ways to the point of boredom. Even their amusements eventually bore them—"but there is nothing else to do."

"This is an age of warring ideologies; how can philosophy help us?" The short answer is by showing the futility of slavish adherence to any one conviction. The age, in so far as it is dominated by ideological struggles, is a product of that lack of philosophic thought and logical reasoning which gives rise to all manner of ill-considered allegiances. There is room for all systems of thought and conviction, *but only just so long as they are not exclusive*. When the leader of a party, a faith or an economic system claims that he alone has the truth and that all others are false, he and his system immediately become suspect (at least to the logical mind). For never yet in the history of man has one man or one creed held *all* the truth.

Man is a growing organism ; so also it should be with his faith and beliefs. Overnight conversions to any form of belief cannot but be ill-founded like the jungle bloom which springs into brilliant life, fades and dies for ever between dawn and sunset. Man seeks security and firm faith ; knowing his own weakness, he seeks them in the company of his fellows, and the larger the company the greater his confidence. But let him first examine for himself the bases on which this great company of men is founded. There may be error there. If so, however strong the ultimate body may be, it will fall by virtue of that error and will bring with it the destruction of all. History is full of proofs of this, yet men go on doggedly making the same mistakes as if there were no exemplar before their eyes.

Let men learn the one truth that no single philosophic or religious system is complete in itself ; no one political creed a salvation ; no single economic scheme a complete answer to man's needs. All are needed in some measure and a synthesis of the whole will alone lead to fullness of life and experience. Only thus will man attain salvation in all his parts.

“ Philosophy East and West seems much the same in purpose and content ; how can we explain the wide differences in outlook and development which confront us in the nations to-day ? ”

We have said elsewhere that no really new thought on what are sometimes called the “ eternal verities ” has made its appearance during the past twenty-five centuries. This is attested by spiritual men who have found “ Christians ” in the pre-Christian period and Buddhists who lived before Buddha himself saw the light. Men tend to relive the old existences of their ancestors, committing the same mistakes and improving but little on what has gone before. There are also periods of stagnation or even retrogression when much ground already gained is lost utterly. But such periods are not synchronised among all the nations. Some advance while others are static or actually retreating. We may then have the spectacle of a once highly civilised people struggling in the depths of degeneration as a preliminary to another upward surge.

But there is also the curious phenomenon of periods of over-emphasis, when one particular creed or dogma sweeps over a whole nation (or even over a group of peoples) ; when, in the common phrase, people are in a period of transition. Then great swings of political allegiance occur, and these in turn are succeeded by reversionary swings in the other direction. The tragic thing about all such extreme movements is the great waste of energy involved, together with the suffering which is brought upon many who least deserve it.

The philosopher is least moved by this because his whole life is an observation of his fellows and their curious ways—not only of those now living but of all those of whom history preserves a record. He has the same conflicts as his fellows, but he fights them out in his own mind and wins his victory before the problem has as yet presented itself to the great mass of his fellows. He must be infinitely tolerant and yet violently rebellious ; he must have strong prejudices and yet know how to overcome them in the light of reason and with the aid of logic ; he must have wide and deep sympathies, yet he must be master of them rather than let them master him. Above all, as he deals so largely with logic and the processes of reason he must take great pains to keep firm hold on his humanity so as not to become a mere reasoning machine.

All these considerations will show why the philosopher can not fitly become an adherent to any one system of thought or conviction. In so far as he does so he falls short of the philosophic ideal. So the contribution of philosophy to an age obsessed by ideological struggles is still the "not too much of anything" of the ancient Greek philosophers and the Middle Way School of Confucianism. Eschewing extremes and weighing all propositions so as to gain a true estimate of balance leads inevitably to the Middle Way.

"Do you not think that the answer to our present troubles is to be found in true education? Should not university education be open to all?"

This is a difficult question to answer clearly. What is true education? Surely the development of individual capabilities along the lines likely to bring about the fullest life. But that is not the popular conception of education, as can be seen in the second part of the question. We have no hesitation in saying that to open university education to everyone would be the surest way to implant the deepest hatred of learning in most minds.

Let this not be misunderstood. All we are saying in effect is that there is no especial magic in an university training. We will go further and say that of those who have entered the universities and passed through the various schools there, a very small percentage has gained the *full* benefit from the experience. For a man must take a very special equipment with him if he is to get from the university all it has to offer. Even in the old days more people came down from the universities with little profit than the number which had real benefit. This is the fault of the individual, *not* of the educational system. The open lectures, sessions with one's tutor, the discussion groups, meetings of the Union—all these give some advantage to the undergraduate, but they are only trimmings. Only the specially gifted person who puts into his university life more than he expects to take out from it will come down fully possessed of all that the institution can give.

Look at the wide diversity of human beings; regard even the great differences within the one family. Then it will become apparent that any general system, whether of education, of law, or of privilege, will fail to work evenly and produce standardised results.

"You suggest in many places that all people should learn something of philosophy. Do you think that this will (even if it should come about) alter those characteristics of human nature which are now so much in the way of men leading happy, full lives?"

The answer is yes. If all men had a reasonable knowledge of what the great men of all ages had thought and said, they would see the futility of much which now occupies their attention. They would no longer waste their time and substance on unprofitable, or even harmful, pursuits; they would assess the value of all the "Goods" which life has to offer and then select the one nearest their individual capabilities. But the philosopher knows that, in spite of all his efforts to make men see that this is the best course for them to pursue, the majority will shrug away his advice. They will elect to exist rather than to live well. They will continue to envy those who have achieved more than themselves rather than put forth the effort necessary for them to achieve the same.

We know that of which we speak, for in the course of a full and busy life we have proved for ourselves the value of the old Stoic maxim, "If you would make a man truly happy, do not add to his possessions but take away from his desires." We have shared the lives of high and low in many countries East and West and laboured in many fields. Through it all has come the lesson which is as old as man himself and which yet man has to learn—that true happiness comes from within and is never found from without. We know also that money and power are the lowest of this world's Goods ; that in the wrong hands they are not Goods at all, but evils. The wise man is content to pass them by and his soul is at peace.

What we have tried to do in this series of publications is to lead men to think, rather than to tell them what they should think. For it still remains true that each man must work out his own salvation.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL POSTSCRIPT

ALTHOUGH MUCH HAS BEEN DONE BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS ON ARABIAN PHILOSOPHY, a great deal of the resultant material is in Latin or German. For Ghazali and the mystics generally it is essential to have a knowledge of Arabic as a satisfactory, unambiguous vocabulary for rendering the mystics has not yet been framed.

The general reader should begin with Schmölders, *Documenta philosophiae Arabum* (1836), still a very useful work. This can profitably be followed by S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (1859). E. Renan's *Averroës et l'averroïsme* gives a good general picture of the teaching of one of the acutest minds in Arabian thought ; while the reader who can manage no language other than English will get a trustworthy estimate of the value of Arabian philosophy and its relation to world systems from T. J. de Boer, *History of Philosophy in Islam* (1903).

It must be remembered that, apart from the mystics, most of Arabian philosophy is a distillation of Aristotelianism through the school of Alexandria. The student will, therefore, recognise much that is familiar by reason of his earlier studies.

With regard to Indian philosophy the field is so wide that no attempt will be made to cover all the ground. Indian philosophic literature is almost as voluminous as that of the Chinese ; in some respects it shows greater variety of conception and expression. The Western reader can hardly make a satisfactory study without a knowledge of Sanskrit, though he can now read in more or less trustworthy versions most of the leading works in each class of philosophic effort. He should begin with a reading of the *Rig-veda* and a close study of *Bhagavadgita*. This last has a full literature of its own in English, from the fine paraphrase by Sir Edwin Arnold (*The Song Celestial*) down through the more scholarly works like Dr. L. D. Barnett's *The Bhagavadgita* (1905) ; Sri Aurobindo's *Essays on the Gita* ; Professor Franklin Edgerton's *The Bhagavadgita* ; and, latest of all, Professor S. Radhakrishnan's sympathetic and comprehensive translation and commentary. The last two have also the Sanskrit text, necessary for a full understanding however good the translation.

Next, the student should acquaint himself with *The Yoga Sutras* of Patanjali. There are numerous good translations of this work, the best also provide the original text for the use of the more serious student. If the student would like preparation before entering on the study of the texts themselves, he would do well to read A. Berriedale Keith's *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads* (1925) and Radhakrishnan's *Philosophy of the Upanisads* (1924) — where some of Keith's more tentative statements are shown in their true light as seen by an Indian thinker of no mean order. S. N. Das Gupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* (1922) will act as signpost to the general reader and help him to find other works for more detailed study.

Persian philosophy has two distinct branches—one Avestan and the other of Islamic origin (occasionally mixed with some Indian ideas). For Avestan philosophy one must read the Avesta and the Gathas ; these are to be had in English, French and German translations. The greater part of Persian Islamic philosophy (especially the Sufi tenets) is, like the earliest Greek philosophy, in verse. Intending students should first consult C. A. Storey's invaluable *Persian Literature, a bibliographical survey* (1927).

What is badly needed is a series of bilingual works (text and translation *en regard*) similar to the excellent Budé series in France or the Loeb Classical Library in Britain and the U.S., where critical introductions, scholarly texts and faithful translations are found within the covers of a single volume. Nothing would do more to stimulate interest in the original texts of systems of thought ; nothing is more valuable, not only to the student, but to the general reader. Here and there a beginning has been made (the Wisdom of the East Series published Sadi's *Scroll of Wisdom* in the original with translation facing it, and the American Oriental Series has done the same for *Wei Shih Erh Shih Lun*). But these are slight works and although several Indian presses have indeed issued bilingual editions of the outstanding philosophical classics of India, much more can be done to stimulate Westerners in their arduous studies.

The Confucian Canon, with text, translation and notes all on the same page, has been in the hands of students for sixty years. So also has Sun Tzū, in the excellent translation of Dr. Lionel Giles. But so far no other Chinese philosopher has been so treated. People are reluctant to buy text and translation separately (especially when at first it is by no means easy to refer readily from one to the other). Professor Dubs has given us some sections of *Ch'ien Han Shu* in this very satisfactory manner and history students are well pleased with the experiment. Who will now open to Western eyes the inestimable riches of Chinese philosophy in the same way ?

N. W.

DATE OF ISSUE

1 JUL 1949

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